Football Premiership: Liverpool 5 Nottingham Forest 1

Teenage striker in a class of his Owen

Daniel Taylor at Anfield

THE WORD "burn-out" clearly does not exist in Michael Owen's vocabulary. While the game's amateur psychologists have been pontificating about his durability, Owen provided the perfect riposte with an irresistible display of attacking play, capped by four goals that elevated him back to the top of the Premiership scoring charts. Here was a truly world-class footballer.

Owen emphatically answered any lingering fears for his well-being in the aftermath of a punishing schedule of 84 senior appearances in a remarkable 17 months. This was a performance full of zest and running, with two goals in each half to leave joint managers Gérard Houllier and Roy Evans vindicating their controversial decision to rest their club's most prized asset for the midweek stalemate against Valencia in the Uefa Cup.

"He'd accepted our decision earlier in the week, but, like any kid, he always wants to play," said Evans. "If we asked him to play every day, twice a day, he would say yes. But, as his custodians, we have to think about his well-being and he had looked tired in the last week. England won't rest him, so it's up to us to take that on board.

"Every goal was a great finish and he's obviously going to take the limelight, but the most important thing is that, after a spell when the team did not look the part, we were back on song."

The bookmakers responded to his latest effort by slashing Owen from 9-4 to 1-2 to finish top Premiership scorer this season. Recalled at the expense of Robbie Fowler, Owen left his employers in no doubt about his form, despite having scored only two goals in the previous 11 matches.

Within 10 minutes he was taking the acclaim of the crowd when, from Karlheinz Riedle's through-ball, he finished exquisitely into the top corner of Dave Beasant's net without breaking stride.

Not for the first time, however, the get-out clause for a visiting team at Anfield was the hosts' suspect defence. Steve Stone, marked by Steve McManaman of all people, produced an exhilarating moment of skill to control a raking cross from left-back Alan Rogers before teeing up Dougie Freedman for a 16th-minute equaliser.

Briefly, it was Forest's turn to ask the questions, but the defensive errors were not confined solely to the home side, and normal service was resumed in the 23rd minute as Owen and Patrik Berger combined to set up the unmarked McManaman for his first goal at Anfield in 12 months. He gave Beasant little chance with a stinging right-foot drive from 12 yards after an horrendous mistake by captain Steve Chettle had caught his defensive colleagues cold.

The absence of Pierre Van Hooijdonk has been well-documented, but the summer departure of Colin Cooper to Middlesbrough, depriving the side of his leadership, has been equally detrimental to a Forest team who have taken only [illegible] points from their last seven league matches.

Forest played into Owen's hands by choosing to defend close to the halfway line, rather than sitting deep and denying the lightning-fast striker the space he craves for his surging runs. Jon Olav Hjelde was guilty of ball-watching as the irrepressible Owen accepted another Riedle pass before producing a clinical left-foot finish from the edge of the area to increase Liverpool's advantage seven minutes before the break.

The hat-trick was completed from the penalty spot in the 71st minute after Rogers had upended Riedle on the edge of the penalty area, and the crowd did not have long to wait before his fourth. Accepting a long throw from goalkeeper David James, Owen's lightning-quick pace was too much for Thierrey Bonalair and, although his first effort was saved by Beasant, he was never going to make a mistake with the rebound.

Owen left the field to a standing ovation, while Forest were left to reflect on 29 years without a victory at Anfield, with the prospect of a long, hard battle to prevent an instant return to the First Division.

"I'm just glad Owen is English," said Forest manager Dave Bassett afterwards. "He looks refreshed and his finishing was tremendous. I would have preferred him to be rested again — but that goes without saying."



Final score . . . Michael Owen shoots his fourth, and Liverpool's fifth, in the rout of Forest PHOTO: DARREN WALSH

Cryptic crossword by Fidelio

Across

1 Back room boy was born of Finnish minority (6)
4 Quietly, Guevara went after Sandy to capture beauty (6)
9 He consumed rice (4)
10 Steps taken by the charmed one? (5,5)
11 Hardy partner is evergreen (6)
12 Centres revealed by micrometre comparisons (8)
13 Tents and a river are by this tower (9)
15 Sound from horn player in social gathering at up end (4)
16 Pound is last character in age (4)
17 Feeling displayed by young boxer, say (5,4)
21 Rear rider jostles ahead in lines (8)
22 Fix this time, only (6)
24 Sun and piece found on the beach (10)
25 The convulsive let these out (4)
26 One going without is faster (6)
27 Judge to be supine, perhaps (6)

Down

1 Garland maid for this lady (7)
2 Turner expert is found in father (5)
3 Islets of Langerhans production (7)
5 A hollow where a dwarf is to be found (6)
6 Plot skilfully at this house? (9)
7 Shell case badly cut (7)
8 It's said of patron, poet obtains a degree (13)
14 Area at back for bird (9)
16 Red male produces green stone (7)
18 Table dish and a unit (7)
19 Not like the H. G. man (7)
20 Reportedly rotten for 10 years (6)
23 He wept because of John Edrich's openers with South American (5)

Last week's solution

Cricket Third Test: Pakistan v Australia

Series win for Australia

AUSTRALIAN cricketers celebrated their first series victory in Pakistan for 39 years as the third and final Test ended in a draw in Karachi.

Ijaz Ahmed, with an unbeaten 120, and Moin Khan, who made 75, rescued Pakistan from a precarious 75 for four by putting on 153 for the fifth wicket.

The visitors, who won the series 1-0 thanks to their victory by an innings and 99 runs in the first Test in Rawalpindi, seemed in sight of a second win, only to miss two crucial catches.

First Ijaz was dropped by skipper Mark Taylor off Glenn McGrath on two, while Moin got his extra life on 30 when Mark Waugh spilled a chance at slip off Stuart MacGill.

Tasmanian pace bowler Colin Miller had taken three early wickets to leave Pakistan struggling, but the hosts recovered to finish on 262 for five having been set a daunting 419 to win.

Australia had a first-innings lead of 28 after bowling out Pakistan for 252. Only Aamir Sohail offered any resistance against the opposition's attack. He went on to make a brave, disciplined 133, holding together a side that was falling to pieces. His fifth Test century, and first as captain, took almost six hours and came from 272 balls. It included 18 fours and a six.

McGrath and MacGill between them claimed most the wickets. For McGrath it was the tenth time he had taken five wickets in an innings from 40 Tests. In hot, unhelpful conditions, his performance was outstanding. A delightful century by Mark Waugh then put Australia firmly in command. It was his 15th in 81 Tests and came from 232 balls with nine boundaries and a six before he was beaten in the air by the debutant spinner Shakeel Ahmad for an easy stumping to Moin Khan on 117.

Waugh featured in three half-century partnerships, adding 66 for the fourth wicket with his twin Steve, 76 for the fifth with Darren Lehmann and 63 for the seventh with Gavin Robertson.

That last partnership all but ended Pakistan's faint victory hopes as Robertson, who came in with Australia 294 for six, batted for more than two hours for his 45, hitting five fours and a six and taking 17 runs from one over by Arshad Khan.

Australia's last series success in Pakistan came under Richie Benaud in 1959-60.

Scores: Australia 280 (Mike Slater 96; Shahid Afridi 5-52) and 390 (M Waugh 117, Mark Taylor 68; Shakeel Ahmad 4-91); Pakistan 252 (Aamir Sohail 133; McGrath 5-66) and 262 for 5. **Match drawn**

© Guardian Publications Ltd., 1998. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

The Guardian Weekly

Vol 159, No 19
Week ending November 8, 1998

The Washington Post · Le Monde

Two young survivors of a mudslide in northern Nicaragua wait to be taken to hospital PHOTO: GERMAN MIRANDA

Mitch claims thousands of lives

Phil Gunson

THE death toll from the worst storm to hit Central America this century seemed likely to exceed 7,000, as desperately overstretched emergency services sought to bring order to the chaos.

The director of the Honduran national emergency committee, Dimas Alonzo, said floods and landslides caused by tropical storm Mitch may have cost as many as 5,000 lives in Honduras alone. But he admitted the true total may never be known.

The Honduran president, Carlos Flores Facusse, appealed for international aid and announced that he was suspending constitutional liberties to combat looting.

"There are corpses everywhere," he said in a national broadcast. "The floods and landslides erased from the map many villages and households as well as whole neighbourhoods of cities . . . I ask the international community for human solidarity."

The United States government is providing more than $1 million for aircraft to deliver relief supplies to Central America, US officials said on Monday.

In Nicaragua rescue workers continued to pull bodies from the black volcanic mud at the scene of one of the worst disasters in the country's history. Nicaragua's vice-president, Enrique Bolaños, said 1,000 to 1,500 people had been killed at the Casita volcano near Chinandega and 600 others had died elsewhere.

Swollen by torrential rains caused by Mitch, the crater lake at the volcano's summit overflowed, witnesses say, causing a mudslide that wiped out four communities. "The mud was as high as the treetops," a survivor, Rosa Caballero, said, "and it tore down the trees and the houses. The place is a desert now."

The mud, in places up to 6m thick, covers an area of about 80sq km. "It is a giant cemetery," Mr Bolaños said.

The death toll continues to rise across the region, along with the incalculable economic losses. Honduras and Nicaragua, the two countries worst affected, are the poorest in the Americas after Haiti.

Heavy rain has turned the centre of the Honduran capital Tegucigalpa into a vast lake, while the hillsides are strewn with the wreckage of shanty homes. In all, 800,000 of the country's 5 million inhabitants are reported homeless.

In Nicaragua up to 50 bridges on main highways, and many minor bridges, have been destroyed, including those on roads in and out of the capital Managua.

With bodies rotting in the open air, and water supplies disrupted, the fear now is of epidemics, including malaria and cholera.

Greenhouse effect worse than feared

Paul Brown

LARGE swaths of the planet will be plunged into misery by climate change in the next 50 years, with many millions ravaged by hunger, water shortages and flooding, according to evidence published this week.

Findings from Britain's Hadley Centre for Climate Change presented to 170 countries meeting in Buenos Aires for talks on global warming show that parts of the Amazon rain forest will turn into desert by 2050, threatening the world with an unstoppable greenhouse effect.

The startling findings are the result of billions of calculations made by the world's biggest supercomputer at the Hadley Centre in Berkshire. The figures show the earth is heating up fast, with 1998 already the hottest year since reliable records began 140 years ago.

Among the findings are:

❑ Land temperatures will go up 6C by the end of the next century.
❑ The number of people on the coast subject to flooding each year will rise from 5 million now to 100 million by 2050, and 200 million by 2080.
❑ Another 30 million people will be hungry in 50 years because it will be too dry to grow crops in large parts of Africa.
❑ An extra 170 million people will live in countries with extreme water shortages.
❑ Malaria, one of the world's most feared diseases, will threaten much larger areas of the world — including Europe — by 2050.

The new predictions include far better representations of ocean currents, which drive the world's climate. The Gulf Stream, which is important for warming Britain in the winter, will be 20 per cent weaker in future, but Europe will still warm considerably resulting in more extreme weather conditions.

The impact on food supply will be particularly bad for Africa and the United States. The whole of central and southern Africa will have reduced ability to grow staple crops, but in world political terms the adverse affects on the US prairies is likely to prove most important.

Wheat and maize yields will drop by up to 10 per cent, and since the vast surplus of the US wheat belt is vital to the country's wealth and its hold on world food supplies, this prediction will be bad news for future US administrations.

The US stands accused of holding up talks designed to reduce the world's output of carbon dioxide, so it is ironic that on the first day of the two-week meeting in Argentina the latest models show that the US will be among the countries most severely affected. Canada, on the other hand, will see its wheat production increase by 2.5 per cent.

Perhaps the most startling finding is the prospect of a runaway greenhouse effect after 2050. It has been thought that the speed of global warming would be moderated by the extra growth in plants and trees. The latest information shows that this benefit will be lost in 2050 because of lack of rainfall in key areas. Worst affected will be northern Brazil, where the Amazon rain forest will turn into desert, and part of the eastern US and southern Europe.

Sea levels throughout the world will rise 21cm by 2050. The coasts of the southern Mediterranean, Egypt, West and East Africa, South and Southeast Asia are most vulnerable.

Increased warmth leads to a dramatic rise in the number of malaria cases where the disease is already endemic. It is already spreading north — Italy had an outbreak last year — and is expected to reach the Baltic by 2050.

Leapfrog forward, page 27

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF80	Netherlands	G 5
Denmark	DK17	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 14	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 500	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,500	Switzerland	SF 3.80



Pie-faced . . . Renato Ruggiero under tart attack in London

Custard pie on menu for celebrities

John Vidal

A SURREALIST Belgian intellectual's 25-year campaign to throw custard pies at pompous celebrities and those with unaccountable power has spread to Britain with a group calling itself the Biotic Baking Brigade. Margaret Thatcher, Rupert Murdoch, and even the broadcaster Jeremy Paxman are believed to be targets.

Recent recipients of pies thrown by the Brussels-based International Patisserie Brigade and the BBB are Bill Gates of Microsoft, Robert Shapiro, head of Monsanto, and the economist Milton Friedman.

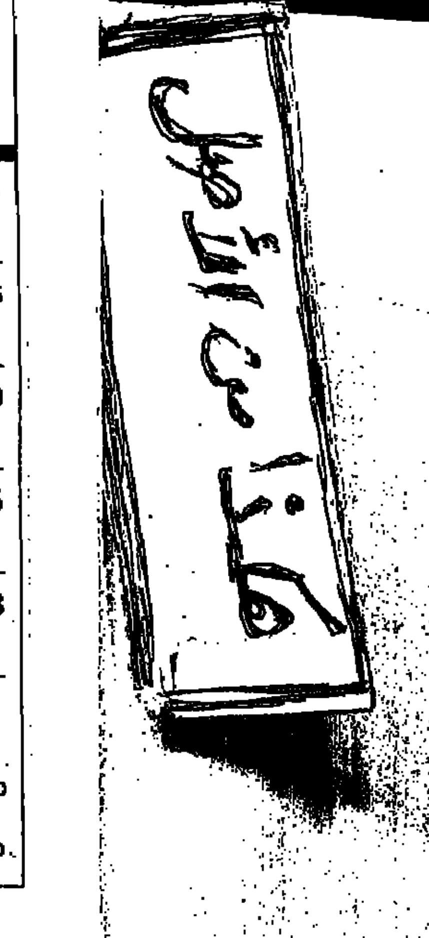
The pie wars moved to London last weekend with the *entartement* (pieing) of the Italian head of the World Trade Organisation, Renato Ruggiero. Several BBB protesters ambushed Mr Ruggiero, aged 69, complaining about his intention to speed up neo-liberal economics even as millions of people were suffering recession. The protesters launched a volley of pies, and Mr Ruggiero was hit several times.

"When they have no more rational arguments, the fringe elements have to use cake," the WTO chief said.

A BBB spokesman said: "To those who wish to dominate the world, the world replies, 'Let them eat humble pie.' We will wage our gastronomical struggle with epicurean passion."

British pie-throwing is the latest in a long line of subversive tactics by direct action groups. That it has a philosophical underpinning is thanks to Noel Godin, a 54-year-old Belgian, who says his slapstick politics is inspired by Norman Wisdom and the Three Musketeers.

Mr Godin has been throwing custard pies at celebrities since 1965, when he pied French novelist Marguerite Duras for having "a kind of intelligence that serves only her own vanity". His teams yell "Gloop, gloop, gloop" as they launch their tarts. If they fail to strike, they eat the pies — which they insist are top quality.



Brute force that does the market's bidding

THE articles in your October 25 issue on General Augusto Pinochet's arrest in London and on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment are ominously linked.

It is illuminating, and sadly ironic, that the right claims that brutal murderers such as Gen Pinochet should, and do, have diplomatic immunity from international prosecution, while trying to simultaneously to push through the MAI, which would allow private corporations to prosecute governments. Many of these corporations not only abide by the same free-market philosophies that empower sadistic regimes such as Gen Pinochet's, but also directly support such regimes (witness Shell's activities in Nigeria).

Free-market policies are killing or injuring thousands of people and are destroying the planet. Right-wingers are understandably nervous about having to account for their deeds in international tribunals. Their record is appalling. Extradition and trial for Gen Pinochet is the only sane and justifiable course, followed by similar actions against other world "leaders" who supported him.

Economic prosperity is a failure, indeed it is barbarism, if it is achieved by the murder, torture, detention or silencing of even one dissenter.
Shaun Smith,
Toronto, Canada

THE detention of Gen Pinochet in London calls for a renewed discussion of the 1973 Chilean coup, its causes and its consequences. Baroness Thatcher's intervention on Gen Pinochet's behalf points a finger at the interests that they both represent. The help given by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger to the Chilean military before, during and after the coup are similarly revealing. And the intervention of Chile's ambassador to Britain — who was one of Gen Pinochet's victims — calling for the dictator's release, clearly indicates that the current Chilean government is still servant to these same interests.

As a Chilean I am ashamed of those Chileans who have no shame. It looks like it will take some more time before the way is truly open to rebuild democracy in Chile.
Juan H Vera,
Montreal, Canada

BRITAIN'S Lord Chief Justice has determined that Gen Pinochet cannot be held and prosecuted because he was once a head of state. If this decision is correct under international law then the United States must immediately release General Manuel Noriega, who was Panama's head of state when he was kidnapped by US troops and taken to Florida.
James and Ellen Loughery,
Prince George, BC, Canada

Middle East's flawed peace

THE Middle East agreement has been hailed as a major breakthrough, but there can be no doubt that it is fraught with danger (Maryland's charter of mistrust, November 1). Instead of doing away with the Vichy-style government that has been installed in Palestine following the Oslo agreement, it serves to reinforce those structures.

Neither the extremely well-armed Israeli security forces nor Yasser Arafat have been able to break the spirit of resistance that is fostered by continued occupation and corrupt "self-rule". Neither does Mr Arafat possess sufficient moral credibility, nor does the agreement include guarantees for a final Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and a commitment to an end to further Israeli settlements.

The most likely scenario is violent clashes between Palestinian factions, which will then allow Israel to argue that a disunited nation cannot be granted independence.

By failing to commit itself to a future withdrawal from occupied territory, the agreement seeks to amend rather than to annul the occupation. The armed struggle and other forms of defiance will only lose their rationale if Palestinians are given the opportunity to look forward to self-determination.
Gabriele vom Bruck, Martha Mundy,
London School of Economics

AN "INTERIM" Middle East peace deal has given the role of "arbiter" of Palestinians suspected of terrorism to the CIA. To say it is like putting a fox in charge of the hen-house seems inadequate.

The CIA is a centre of human pollution, an invisible government whose power stretches from Wall Street to Timbuktu to Santiago. A proven infiltrator of labour and progressive movements, it murders, plunders, manipulates and despoils everything it touches. It guts democracy and makes war. It has not reformed. If history is a study of human irony, here indeed is a fine example.
Joan Coxsedge,
Melbourne, Australia

Stacking the wrong facts

MILES KIMBER presents an interpretation of the recent Australian federal election that is not consistent with certain relevant facts (October 18).

His claim that John Howard "went to the people with all the cards stacked against him, and won despite the odds" is at variance with the prime minister having gone into the election with a lower-house majority of well over 40 in a 148-seat assembly; with Mr Howard having been able to choose the timing of the poll; and with his having been able to use more than $28 million of taxpayers' money to promote his proposed tax changes.

Mr Kimber's claim that Mr Howard "has been re-elected on a mandate of major tax reform including a goods and services tax" is at variance with well over half of the voters, in terms of their first preferences, having said no to a goods and services tax; with the opposition having polled more than half of the total two-party preferred vote; and with the voters having quite emphatically denied Mr Howard control of the Senate from mid-1999. This is certainly not a decisive mandate for the introduction of a highly contentious and regressive GST.
David S Walsh,
Aberdeen, NSW, Australia

MILES KIMBER is certainly correct when he writes of the need for a reform of Australia's tax laws. But neither he nor John Howard explain why a goods and services tax is essential in such a reform. Discounting the One Nation party, the other three main opposition parties, together with the churches and the social welfare groups, have been unanimous in their condemnation of the proposed GST, especially applied to food as Mr Howard intends.

I read that the Sydney Olympics committee anticipates that a 10 per cent GST will add $200 million to the cost of the 2000 Games, and has signalled its intention to apply to the government for tax exemption. It will be interesting to see if Mr Howard attaches more importance to international athletics than he apparently does to the welfare of the poor.
B M Sykes,
Taranna, Tasmania, Australia

American agenda

JOHN RYLE is mistaken in feeling "that Mexicans and Canadians have got used to it" (The trouble with Americans, October 18). Many of us are angry about having the word "American" used to refer only to United States citizens. It's less than correct, and it has a tendency to make us feel ignored and cranky, which is unpleasant.

There's an alternative. An appropriate name for citizens of the US is Usians. The precedent has been set with words such as Argentinian and Canadian, where the final "a" of the country's name is replaced by "ian". Or perhaps Usan (as in Ugandan, Indian, etc) would be easier to spell.
Joan Donaldson,
Victoria, BC, Canada

I READ John Ryle's article with interest as I am an English language teacher at the University of Leon, in Nicaragua. Whenever I teach about nationalities and countries, a debate begins regarding the English translation of United States citizens — Americans. The Nicaraguans feel insulted and rather put out when I explain that there is no good word for US citizens in English.

We need some kind of reform in the use of this politically loaded word, which offends all Americans (North, Central and South) and stumps many an English language teacher. Language is power, and needs to be debated more.
Nicola Gorb,
Leon, Nicaragua

Briefly

THOSE who have followed the charade of the West's response to the latest Serbian atrocities in Kosovo (October 1) will not be surprised that President Slobodan Milosevic and his forces think that they can now get away with "a final solution". It is to be hoped that Tony Blair and the new German government led by Gerhard Schröder, whose predecessor proposed Kosovo become an international protectorate, will not only insist on all Kosovan refugees being able to return to their homes, but also that Serbia accept international involvement to find a solution to the crisis in Kosovo.
Joe Murphy,
Birmingham

IN TRYING to portray Brazil as a paradise for would-be teachers of English, Alex Bellos is disrespectful of both Brazilian English teachers and their students (October 11). By implying that Brazilian EFL teachers are intrinsically less competent than native speakers, he is not only reinforcing a common prejudice but failing to recognise the changing nature of English as a world language. Potential teachers would do well to remember that there's more to teaching English than providing British or North American models and that there's more to Brazil than São Paulo.
Betenia Azevedo and Peter Ratcliffe,
Recife, Brazil

I AM disappointed to see that yet again the translator's contribution to bringing Jose Saramago's novels into the English language is unacknowledged (October 18). As Michael Schmidt says in your article, Saramago "is extremely difficult to translate". But someone did translate him, and since he is obviously so readable in English it must have been a job well done.
Anne-Marie Glasheen,
Society of Authors,
London

I AM just reading Steven Poole's write-up of James Kelman's book The Good Times (August 9). I know your readership is reputed to be fairly intelligent and I count myself in their number, but what, pray, does the following mean? — "Meanwhile one militant aim of Kelman's language is probably to deconstruct sanitary deliminations of literary register as being class-based prejudice."
David I Marks,
Nairobi, Kenya

YOUR obituary of Eric Ambler (November 8) does not mention the extraordinary fact that all of his books are currently out of print.
Pete Ayrton,
London

The Guardian Weekly
November 8, 1998 Vol 159 No 19
Copyright © 1998 by Guardian Publications Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London. United Kingdom. All rights reserved.
Annual subscription rates are £52 United Kingdom; £58 Europe inc. Eire, USA and Canada; £66 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ
Fax 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985).
e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk
Subscription, change of address and e-mail inquiries to: gwsubs@guardian.co.uk

Don't miss an issue

The Guardian Weekly

A lot can happen in a week. Wars blow up, scandals blow over and pretty much everything in between can take a different turn. Make sure you get your hands on the facts – every week – subscribe to The Guardian Weekly. We'll keep you posted – wherever you are.

Subscription rates	1 year	2 years
United Kingdom	£52	£95
Europe, USA, Canada	£58	£107
Rest of the World	£66	£123

Weekly e-mail edition free to all postal subscribers.

YES - I want an unbiased view of world events.
Please mail The Guardian Weekly to the address below for.
1 year ☐ 2 years ☐.
Complete the order form and send it to:
The Guardian Weekly, 164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RR, England.
Name ______
Address ______
e-mail ______
Subscription ordered by ______
Address, if not as above ______
☐ I enclose a sterling cheque drawn on a UK bank or sterling Eurocheque made payable to *The Guardian Weekly*.
☐ Please debit my Visa/MasterCard/American Express account no:
Expiry date ___ / ___ Signature ______
Credit card orders may be faxed to +44 (0) 161 876 5362, ordered on-line at http://guardianweekly.com or e-mailed to gwsubs@guardian.co.uk
☐ Tick box if this is a renewal order.
☐ Tick this box if you do not wish to receive offers from carefully selected companies.
sc8

The Guardian Weekly — Knows *no* boundaries

UN fury as Saddam blocks inspection

Ian Black

IRAQ has defied the United States and its allies by saying it would refuse to co-operate with United Nations weapons inspectors even under the threat of military action.

Baghdad's show of bravado came last week in a speech from Vice-President Taha Hussein Ramadan who declared: "Iraq does not fear the threat of the United States because it has been threatening Iraq for the past eight years." There will be no co-operation with the inspectors until sanctions are lifted, he said.

President Saddam Hussein's carefully timed decision forced the US president, Bill Clinton, to turn his attention to foreign policy at a time when he would have rather concentrated on this week's mid-term elections.

In an emergency meeting last weekend, the UN Security Council said Iraq's move was "a flagrant violation" of council resolutions. Russia, generally sympathetic to Iraq, warned Baghdad to "weigh carefully the negative consequences" of its actions.

In London, the British prime minister, Tony Blair, who is Mr Clinton's staunchest international backer on this issue, said Iraq could not be allowed to build up weapons of mass destruction in defiance of Security Council resolutions. He issued a stern warning to the Iraqis to back down: "We have absolutely no doubt at all that they must comply and that we are ready to take whatever means are necessary to ensure that they do," he told a news conference, held with the German chancellor, Gerhard Schröder.

Meanwhile Mr Clinton warned that no options against Iraq were "off the table". Earlier, he met senior members of his national security team to consider options in the latest showdown. He has already sent his defence secretary, William Cohen, to Europe and the Gulf to consult allies. He is expected to order military action if Iraq refuses to comply, but that will not happen quickly.

On Monday Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister and main representative on the international stage, said Baghdad would not reverse its decision to halt co-operation with UN weapons inspectors despite threats of military action by the US, Britain and Germany.

Instead, Iraq's 250 MPs unanimously backed the order to end co-operation with the UN Special Commission (Unscom) until the Security Council reviewed the lifting of sanctions and sacked the Unscom chairman, Richard Butler.

Iraq's move was in response to a council decision last week for a "comprehensive review" of UN Iraq policy that Baghdad had hoped would lead to a partial lifting of the sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Unscom has first to certify Iraq has destroyed its weapons of mass destruction.

Meanwhile a top Iraqi defector has revealed that President Saddam's chemical and biological arsenal is hidden from his senior ministers.

Mr Aziz believes Iraq has disarmed in line with UN resolutions, but he has not been told the truth, Abbas al-Janabi, the former private secretary to President Saddam's son Uday, said.

"Even Tariq Aziz doesn't know where the weapons are," said Mr Janabi, described by diplomats as one of the best-informed Iraqis to defect to the West in recent years. "He thinks they are finished. He is important outside Iraq but he is nothing in his own country."

Mr Janabi said Uday Hussein, his brother Qusay and two others form a secret committee that supervises the 600-strong special brigade charged with concealing banned weapons from UN inspection teams.

Anwar trial opens in Malaysia

John Gittings in Kuala Lumpur

CROWDS of his supporters glowered silently beyond riot police on guard outside the courthouse on Monday as Anwar Ibrahim, the former deputy prime minister of Malaysia, faced the first day of his long trial on corruption and sodomy charges.

Mr Anwar accused Mahathir Mohamad — the prime minister whose heir he was — of lying. Dr Mahathir, it emerged, may be called to testify. Mr Anwar also said that the attorney-general had prejudiced his chance of a fair trial by making public comments about the case.

But despite this show of defiance he was, after two months in detention, noticeably thinner. He seemed downcast after a series of adverse decisions by Judge Augustine Paul, including a refusal to grant formal admission to international observers — though most of them squeezed into the public gallery unofficially.

In language that will go down well with patriotic Malays, the judge said that the defence application was "an insult to the court. There is no reason to let foreigners check us".

But the Malaysian Bar Council was excluded altogether, as were half a dozen foreign diplomats.

The courthouse was ringed by police with riot shields, clubs, canes and rifles. By noon several hundred of Mr Anwar's supporters, who had hoped to demonstrate outside, were watching from the fringes of Merdeka Square where the courthouse stands in Kuala Lumpur.

The defence team unsuccessfully asked the judge to indict Dr Mahathir for contempt of court, following several public statements in which the prime minister has assumed Mr Anwar's guilt.

The main defence submission of the day — that the four corruption charges Mr Anwar is facing in the first phase of the trial be thrown out on grounds that the ordinance on which they were based had been annulled by the lower house of parliament — was rejected.

Comment, page 12



Friends attend to an injured girl outside the disco in the Swedish city of Gothenburg where a fire killed at least 60 teenagers and injured more than 160 last week. Swedish officials said that the fire, at a cultural centre for Macedonian immigrants, may have been started deliberately. PHOTOGRAPH: LEIF JACOBSSON

Serbs quit but Nato keeps jets ready

Martin Walker in Brussels

THE threat of air strikes against Serbia diminished last week after Nato agreed that Belgrade was moving towards withdrawing its troops from Kosovo and allowing international monitoring of the ceasefire.

The Nato Council, which comprises the ambassadors of all 16 alliance members, agreed a plan proposed by the British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, "to keep the planes on the runway", despite Russian demands that the activation order be lifted.

The activation order, which authorises the use of force, remains in place. But its execution will now wait upon on a new meeting of the Nato Council to decide whether Serbia is complying with both the United Nations Security Council resolution and the agreement reached with United States envoy, Richard Holbrooke, last month.

The situation remains tense because the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe has barely begun to deploy the 1,500 civilian observers required to monitor the agreement.

As the Serbian troops pulled out they were replaced by guerrillas of the Kosovo Liberation Army. This had been predicted by the Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, who warned that Serbia could not permit the ceasefire to become a device by which the KLA resumed control of the region.

The international community is now paying the price of its own inefficiency in not deploying the OSCE observers speedily enough. It remains to be seen whether the unarmed monitors will have the authority to persuade the KLA guerrillas to withdraw from strategic positions which could provoke the Serbs to strike back.

The improved situation could allow the international humanitarian operation to move into high gear. With 300,000 Kosovo Albanians made homeless during Serbian offensives in the summer, the operation is seen as essential to prevent a disaster as winter approaches.

The US has asked a private mercenary firm to provide the American military contingent to allow President Clinton to avoid the political risk of having Americans lose their lives in active service in the Balkans.

● A French army officer based in Brussels has been arrested for allegedly supplying secret information on planned Nato air raids to the Serbian leadership. French justice officials said Pierre Bunel, who was seconded to Nato headquarters in Brussels, was in custody in Paris.

The Week

CAPTAIN Alexander Nikitin, a former Russian naval officer who blew the whistle on the dangers of military nuclear waste in the Arctic, walked away a free man after a judge in St Petersburg branded his treason charge indictments unclear and sent the case back for "further investigation".

HEINZ Kessler, aged 78, a former East German defence minister, was released from prison after serving four-and-a-half years for shootings at the Berlin Wall. He was the last high-ranking former East German in jail.

RUSSIAN president Boris Yeltsin began a holiday on the Black Sea as a senior aide said the leader would formally restrict his political activities early next year.

Washington Post, page 17

GORAN Jelisic, Serbia's 30-year-old self-styled "Adolf Hitler", admitted 31 counts of crimes against humanity, including 12 murders, before the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, but denied the most serious charge of genocide.

BROTHER Dominique Savio Rwesero, a Rwandan Catholic monk and an ethnic Hutu, has been sentenced to death after being found guilty of genocide by participating directly in killings of other clergymen.

THE city of New Orleans has become the first authority in United States history to take the country's powerful gun manufacturers to court, demanding compensation for the damage their products have caused in the murder-ridden city.

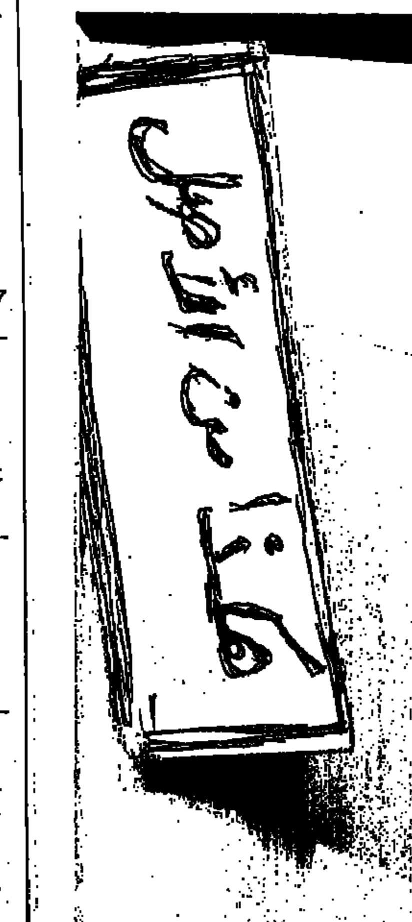
JOHN GLENN, the world's oldest astronaut, went into orbit as the Discovery space shuttle carrying the 77-year-old Democratic senator and six fellow astronauts made a perfect start to a nine-day mission aimed at rejuvenating the American public's love affair with the space programme.

Washington Post, page 17

CLAUDIO Cortes Garcia, a journalist on the Mexican edition of the French newspaper Le Monde Diplomatique, was found strangled on the back seat of a car in Mexico City.

SOUTH Africa's former president F W de Klerk has been granted a divorce in Cape Town from his wife Marike after a marriage of 39 years.

LEJLA SEHOVIC, the Muslim woman stripped of her Miss Croatia title, will go to the Miss World contest this year, after controversy over the jury's withdrawal of her award prompted a compromise. Her replacement will go next year.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 8 1998

Netanyahu stalls on Mideast peace

David Sharrock in Jerusalem

AS ISRAEL marked the third anniversary last week of the assassination of the prime minister who launched the Middle East peace process, its cabinet once again delayed discussing the latest land-for-peace agreement.

Flags flew at half-mast and ministers observed a moment of silence for Yitzhak Rabin, killed three years ago by an ultra-nationalist Jew.

His successor, Binyamin Netanyahu, announced that he would not bring the agreement signed in Washington last month to his cabinet until Palestinians had submitted a plan on fighting terrorism.

Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, agreed the delay even as his minister for Jerusalem affairs was involved in scuffles with Jewish settlers and police.

Mr Netanyahu telephoned the Palestinian leader in Gaza to ask for a postponement of a few days. He said he would try to stick to the accord's 12-week timetable and carry out the first troop pullback in the West Bank as close as possible to the original date of November 16.

Mr Arafat, who called Mr Netanyahu his "peace partner" as they signed the Wye summit pact in the White House, accepted the delay with apparent good grace.

The agreement was to take effect at midnight on Friday last week. But Mr Netanyahu said the deal must first be ratified by his cabinet and parliament. The parliamentary session is set for next week.

Israel lifted a 50-day closure of Gaza and the West Bank last week, allowing 60,000 Palestinians to return to their jobs. The closure was imposed amid intelligence reports that the Islamist group Hamas was planning an atrocity to coincide with Jewish holidays. In recent days five attacks — all believed to have been the work of Hamas — have left four Israelis dead.

The ending of the closure suggests Israel is confident that the Palestinian Authority is determined to crack down on Hamas. Hundreds of its members have been rounded up and imprisoned.

But just as tension between the two leaders appears to be subsiding and with evidence that the Israeli army is preparing to withdraw bases and equipment from West Bank territory, the bitter struggle over the east Jerusalem district of Ras al-Amud has flared up again.

Israeli police scuffled with a senior Palestinian Authority official, Faisal Husseini, and clubbed his bodyguards. He was protesting against the construction of a Jewish enclave.

A Palestinian official, Hanan Asfour, said: "This is the most dangerous step against the peace process." Mr Netanyahu, denying a newspaper report that he had given President Clinton an assurance not to engage in "substantial" settlement expansion, said: "We will continue to allow the growth of existing communities."

Israel's first real test will come two weeks into the accord when 2 per cent of the West Bank is to be transferred from sole Israeli control to shared rule and 7.1 per cent is to be handed over to sole Palestinian control.

Meanwhile tension among Palestinians rose last week when Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the founder and spiritual leader of the militant Islamist group Hamas, was put under house arrest after a suicide car bomb attempt on a bus full of Jewish children.

In a clear sign that Mr Arafat is determined to implement the Wye summit's land-for-security deal, he risked a street-level backlash against his Palestinian Authority by confining the elderly hardliner to his Gaza home and arresting more than 100 Hamas members.

His action against the wheelchair-bound cleric, a critic of peacemaking with the Israelis since his release from prison a year ago, came after a massacre was narrowly averted in the Palestinian-controlled Gaza Strip.

An Israeli soldier was killed when he placed his Jeep between a school bus carrying 40 Jewish settler children and a car bomb driven by a Hamas activist. The bomber was also killed.

Washington Post, page 18
Books, page 32



Victims of apartheid attend a self-help group in Sebokeng. Hundreds of people still seeking reparation are being counselled and advised of their rights PHOTOGRAPH: GREG MARINOVICH

Tutu's reconciliation report savages apartheid

David Beresford and Alex Duval Smith in Pretoria

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's truth commission last week delivered a searing indictment of South African society under apartheid, handing out savage criticism across the political and social spectrum.

After 24 hours of high legal drama the commission fought off a last-ditch attempt by the African National Congress to prevent the scheduled release of the report, and it was formally handed over to President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria.

A high court application by the ANC to halt publication of the five-volume report, on the grounds that the commission had not taken account of its submissions, was dismissed only hours before the ceremonial presentation.

"I have struggled against tyranny," an enraged Archbishop Tutu said. "I didn't do that in order to substitute one tyranny with another."

"Some of the gross inaccuracies contained in the report will now unfortunately become part of South Africa's history," said the ANC in response to the verdict.

The deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, said of the commission: "They are wrong, wrong and misguided."

But the archbishop described the publication of the report as "a triumph for truth and humanity".

Later there was speculation that Mr Mandela had opposed the ANC court action and that the decision to go ahead with it was taken without the knowledge of some other senior figures in the party.

The massive report consists of 3,500 pages culled from some 21,000 witness accounts, more than 7,000 amnesty applications and two and a half years of hearings.

The report contained little in the way of surprises, other than the breadth of the indictment. But it raises immediate headaches for the ANC-led government, which will have to decide whether to prosecute some of those named in the report — including President Mandela's ex-wife Winnie, the former president P W Botha, and the leader of the Inkatha Freedom party (IFP) and current home affairs minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi — as having been involved in gross human rights violations.

The commission's recommendations include suggestions for payment by businesses of conscience money for their exploitation of labour under apartheid, a national summit of reconciliation next year, and a legislative ban on research into interrogation and torture.

Chief Buthelezi threatened to sue the commission for defamation over the finding in its final report that his IFP colluded with the apartheid regime.

The action marked the first formal move by a party implicated in human rights crimes by the commission. A day after the commission released its report, most of the alleged perpetrators, including Winnie Mandela and several ministers from the apartheid era, maintained a poignant silence.

Comment, page 12

Mob 'justice' follows Ninja killings

John Aglionby in Jakarta

MOBS of terrified Indonesians are taking the law into their own hands to try to end a mysterious murder spree in which more than 150 witch-doctors and Muslim clerics have been killed in Java.

Last week villagers stripped a woman and dragged her to a police station in Rembang district because she had failed to identify herself to them. Then, instead of turning her in, the mob hanged her and burned the body. They threatened to burn down the police station if officers intervened.

In the neighbouring district of Pati, two vegetable sellers accused of being masked "ninja" killers were beaten to death despite being able to produce identity cards.

More than 35 suspected ninjas have been killed in the past few weeks. Some have been left hanging from trees. In one town a mob beheaded four people and displayed their heads on poles.

The attacks are a response to a wave of murders that began in August in the eastern town of Banyuwangi. At first it appeared as if black-magic practitioners were being targeted but the killers' attention switched to Muslim preachers and members of Indonesia's largest Muslim organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama.

Witnesses say the clerics' attackers were dressed in black ninja-like outfits. Now almost every village has its own vigilante defence force.

A man arrested in the eastern town of Bojonegoro last week admitted he was promised money if he killed a Muslim preacher, Suara Pembaruan newspaper reported. He did not say by whom.

Hundreds of people have been arrested but the authorities cannot explain the attacks.

The army commander, General Subagyo Hadisiwoyo, said that he did not know who the perpetrators were but stressed that the military was not responsible. He admitted that deserters from the special forces might have been involved, but had no proof.

People in eastern Java suspect the military because of its sluggish response and the skill with which the killings have been carried out.

"The ninjas are professionals," said shopkeeper Irwan Effendy. "They come in the middle of the night, cut the power, butcher their targets and then slink away. They must have had some sort of training similar to the military."

Other commentators believe the attacks are a manifestation of lawlessness sparked by economic turmoil.

Agent Orange study 'twisted'

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

THOUSANDS of Vietnam veterans poisoned by the herbicide Agent Orange, now known to cause cancer, were refused compensation or denied treatment because of corruption, concealment and manipulation of a United States air force medical study, it has been claimed.

Richard Albanese, one of four scientists who designed the study, but who was later transferred after making criticisms, has broken his silence in an investigative report by the San Diego Union-Tribune.

Dr Albanese charges military authorities with "a medical crime" in their handling of the report, which was flawed because of its conflict of interest — the air force both sprayed the defoliant and researched its effects.

The study, named after Operation Ranch Hand in which the US sprayed 18 million gallons of Agent Orange over 3.6 million acres of Vietnamese forests to strip the leaves to expose enemy movements, began in 1979 and will continue into 2006.

It monitors the health of 1,000 military personnel who did the spraying. Many have died or have cancer and other illnesses. Some have fathered children with birth defects.

The air force wrote two reports on Agent Orange in 1984, but published only one. It concluded that little difference appeared between the health of Ranch Hand personnel and a comparison group. But a table was removed which showed that Ranch Hand veterans were "less well" by a 5:1 ratio, that their children had more birth defects, and that they suffered twice as many cancers.

Dr Albanese said the phrase "a degree of concern is warranted" was deleted from the report. He said thousands of veterans have not been compensated because of the slanted conclusions.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 8 1998

Russia sinks as crime wave rises

James Meek in Moscow

A HUGE bomb blast killed a St Petersburg businessman; masked assassins murdered a businessman from Bratsk in front of his family; an aide to the Speaker of the Russian parliament was shot in the back of the head; and a gang in the Yaroslavl region were reported to have murdered at least 15 people and buried them in concrete so that they could steal their homes.

It was the toll of a single, relatively quiet week in Russia — and these were only the killings that made the news.

Last month the Russian general prosecutor's office was quoted as reporting a leap in serious crimes, such as murder and rape, of almost 18 per cent in the first nine months of this year.

It is too early to link the increase conclusively to the financial disaster which struck the country in mid-August. But the report highlights Russia's intractable crime problem, one of the greatest sources of popular anger at the changes that have come about since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the source of much of the desire for a "strong-handed" leader to replace the ineffectual Boris Yeltsin.

It is not only Russians who suffer. A Mormon missionary from the United States was killed and his colleague wounded in a recent stabbing attack in the Volga city of Ufa.

Although Mormons have been the target of religious hostility in Russia, and Ufa is a predominantly Muslim city, the police believe that the attack was simply an act of random violence by a drunk — all too representative of the thousands of senseless, squalid killings and beatings every month on the streets and in the flats of countless bleak estates.

The prosecutor's department has often accused the interior ministry, the source of official crime figures, of grossly underestimating the scale of crime by not registering cases it doubts it can solve — including many murders.

The latest police figures for the first eight months of the year suggest a 1 per cent increase in the number of murders, to 19,500, and a similar rise in robberies. There were 10,900 cases of extortion, an increase of almost 11 per cent.

Russian crime is distinguished by a staggering number of mafia murders of businessmen — hundreds are killed each year — and the low value that gangs of petty thieves and fraudsters put on human life.

The Yaroslavl gang, six members of which have been arrested, are said to have enticed flat-owners from the city with promises of work and then killed them by shooting, strangling or poisoning them. The bodies were hidden in basements while the gang tried to sell the homes.

The claim that the gang was concreting over the bodies when it was caught echoes a similar horrific tale from Moscow earlier this year, when a garage owner and his helper murdered 11 car owners and buried 10 of them under their workshop.

There has never been a serious attempt at reform of the criminal justice system, which is still corrupt, underpaid and poorly equipped to cope in a vast country where criminals can move around with ease. The system still keeps 1 million Russians in jail — about a third of all Russians who go before a judge are given prison sentences.

Meanwhile there have been few successes in convicting mafia kingpins, hitmen and corrupt officials. It is difficult, and dangerous, for honest police, investigators or journalists to try to break the chain.

Washington Post, page 17

Canadians apologise for abuse

Anne McIlroy in Ottawa

THE United Church of Canada has issued an unequivocal apology to thousands of native Indians who were physically and sexually abused at church-operated residential schools.

The declaration marks the first time that any of the Canadian churches that ran the prison-like schools for decades have apologised for the cruelty Indian children endured at the hands of their white teachers.

"I am here to speak the words many people have wanted to hear for a long time," the Right Rev Bill Phipps, moderator of the church, said. "We are aware of some of the damage that this cruel and ill-conceived system of assimilation has perpetrated on Canada's First Nations. We are truly and humbly sorry."

Until the mid-1980s, Indian children were routinely forced to go to distant boarding schools intended to "elevate the savages". A 1996 public inquiry found that thousands of youngsters died and many thousands more were physically and sexually abused. At least 1,400 of the victims are suing various churches and the federal government for compensation.

Fearing that apologising would amount to admitting liability, the Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches have all issued statements of repentance and confession but have all stopped short of saying sorry. The United Church is apologising in part because it hopes to reach an out-of-court settlement with litigants.

"Those are nice things to hear, but talk is cheap. Are they going to help make these people the way they once were?" said Harry Daniels, president of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples.

The prime minister, Jean Chrétien, has said he is ready to accept responsibility for what happened at federally funded schools, but will study each case individually. A spokesman said the government has already settled about 220 claims out of court.

News of the apology came as the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were informed of two new lawsuits, including a claim for $960 million on behalf of children who went to the Mohawk residential school in Brantford, Ontario.

UP TO

8.03%

GROSS p.a.
(Variable)

NOW ON THE INTERNET!

The Derbyshire
(ISLE OF MAN) LTD.

Why not invest from £2,500 to £1m with the Best Offshore Deposit Taker of the Year† and earn up to 8.03%?
Our rates vary according to the size of deposit, but none are below 6.00%
To open an account just send your cheque with the coupon. For further details, contact us by telephone, fax or e-mail, or return the coupon.
Alternatively, you can now find full details of our rates and product range on our web site at http://www.derbyshire.co.im

I/We would like to open a (please tick appropriate box) ☐ Bonus Account
90 Days' Notice Account ☐ Monthly Income Account ☐ Instant Access Account ☐
I/We enclose a Sterling cheque for £ (min. £2,500) made payable to "The Derbyshire (Isle of Man) Ltd a/c (your name)" subject to the terms and conditions of the account. I/We understand that when you receive my/our deposit I/we will be required to complete an account application form.
Name(s) in full (Mr/Mrs/Miss) .... Date of Birth ....
Address..........
.... Country .... Postcode ....
Signature (Applicant 1) .... Signature (Applicant 2) GW07/11/98
Please send me more information about your range of accounts ☐

Please return to:
The Derbyshire (Isle of Man) Ltd, PO Box 136 HSBC House, Ridgeway Street, Douglas, Isle of Man, IM99 1LR

Interest (calculated on a daily basis) is payable as follows: Bonus Account - annually on 1st working day after 31st May; 90 Days' Notice and Instant Access - annually on 31st March or 30th April at depositors' choice: Monthly Income - payable monthly in each case without deduction of income tax (subject to changes in tax law). Interest accrues when funds cleared and ceases to accrue on day before withdrawal. It will be your personal responsibility to discharge any liability to tax arising from the receipt of gross interest. All deposits must be in Sterling and a balance of at least £1,000 must be retained. Rates variable and correct at 28th October 1998. Withdrawals against cleared funds only. Transactions by post or electronic funds transfer only. We may elect not to open an account until satisfied about your status and identity. Full terms and conditions of the accounts (which are variable) are available on request. Maximum investment £1m per account.
The principal place of business of The Derbyshire (Isle of Man) Ltd (TDIOM) and the office at which deposits are invited to be made is situated on the Isle of Man. The amount of paid-up capital and reserves of the Company exceed £7.5m. DEPOSITS MADE WITH OFFICES OF TDIOM IN THE ISLE OF MAN ARE NOT COVERED BY THE DEPOSIT PROTECTION SCHEME UNDER THE UK BANKING ACT 1987. DEPOSITS MADE WITH AN ISLE OF MAN OFFICE OF TDIOM ARE COVERED BY THE DEPOSITORS COMPENSATION SCHEME CONTAINED IN THE BANKING BUSINESS (COMPENSATION OF DEPOSITORS) REGULATIONS 1991. (REGULATIONS MADE UNDER ISLE OF MAN LEGISLATION). TO FURTHER PROTECT YOUR DEPOSITS DERBYSHIRE BUILDING SOCIETY HAS GIVEN AN IRREVOCABLE AND BINDING UNDERTAKING TO ENSURE THAT WHILST TDIOM REMAINS ITS SUBSIDIARY, TDIOM WILL AT ALL TIMES BE ABLE TO DISCHARGE ITS FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS AS THEY FALL DUE.

† FT
financial times
Finance



TEL:+44 (0) 1624 663 432 FAX:+44 (0) 1624 615 133
E-Mail:info@derbyshire.co.im
Principal place of business and registered office: P.O. Box 136, HSBC House, Ridgeway Street, Douglas, Isle of Man IM99 1LR.
Registered with the Financial Supervision Commission for banking business.

Small screen looms large in mid-term poll

WASHINGTON DIARY
Martin Kettle

THE 1998 elections were the most expensive mid-terms in history, a further indication, if any were needed, of the deep inroads finance has made into modern politics in general, and American campaigning in particular.

The failure to reform campaign finance law was one of the many pieces of business put on the back burner by a Congress too easily distracted by the Monica Lewinsky affair. But the truth is that the Republicans never seriously wanted campaign finance reform anyway, while the Democrats themselves now also depend on exploiting the existing law to the full.

During the presidency of Bill Clinton the Democrats have become dedicated money-raisers, although this year, as indeed in every other year, the Republicans have put their efforts to shame. According to official figures, Republicans outspent their rivals in the congressional contests by a total of $177.5 million to $105.5 million.

That is a substantial financial advantage, though the Democrats have been steadily narrowing the spending gap in mid-term elections this decade. Back in 1990 Republicans outspent Democrats by nearly four-to-one. In 1994 the discrepancy was only two-to-one, while this year the ratio was nearer five-to-three.

Totalling up these figures, and adding the streams of unregulated "soft" money spending to the "hard" money donated directly to candidates and parties, the figures for this year easily set a new record. Yet all this spending was part of a process in which more and more was spent on less and less. While campaign spending was being driven to a new high, voter turnout was expected to sink simultaneously to a new low. The convergence of these two trends cannot be treated as mere coincidence but as an indicator of the intensification of the central dynamic of modern politics — television.

The public receives most of its political information from television. Therefore, the argument runs, the only effective way to swing or to mobilise these votes is by TV advertising. This costs big bucks, especially in the prime-time slots. To pay for such airtime, candidates must devote themselves to relentless fund-raising among their individual and corporate supporters.

That is the theory, and Clinton's career shows how it has been put into practice. The figures certainly prove the power of fund-raising in the past: in the 1996 elections the top-spending candidate won 88 per cent of Senate races and 92 per cent of House of Representatives contests. This year the figures are likely to paint a similar picture.

One consequence of the increasing cost of campaigning is that politics in both parties has continued to be a rich man's — and a rich family's — game. Another is that this dependence on money has meant that increasing numbers of contests this year were, in effect, abandoned by challengers who could not afford to mount expensive campaigns in battles they expected to lose.

In 143 of this week's 435 House of Representatives contests and in two of the 34 Senate races, the likely winners were either literally or in effect unopposed. The overwhelming majority of the spending in the 1998 elections was focused either on incumbents, who were able to consolidate their positions, or on the minority of contests that were electorally — and hence also financially — competitive.



Candidates for the governorship of Georgia prepare for a televised debate PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN BAZEMORE

In some parts of the country this had a bizarre effect. Many people spoke of these congressional elections being crucial, yet quite often elections barely occurred at all. Nowhere was this more true than in Florida, where 18 of the state's 23 House incumbents faced no major party opponent. Only one congressional race, the one in the largely black Third District south of Jacksonville, was "competitive".

It is one of the great ironies of US politics that this culture of non-existent campaigning co-exists with the culture of the "permanent campaign", in which fund-raising has become the central preoccupation of all politicians, but especially of Democrats such as Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore.

Not a day passes without the two men raising money for their cause. Even when he was in Florida last week for the Space Shuttle launch, Clinton took time out to fund-raise for the state's Democratic candidate for governor, Buddy MacKay. On the same day, Gore was fund-raising in Ohio, the state that the retiring senator, John Glenn, left far behind in his trip into space.

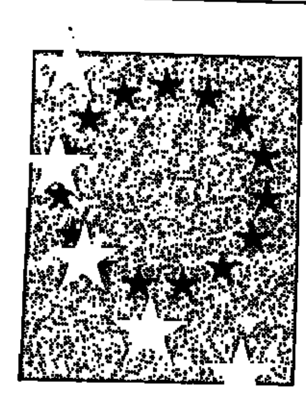
The contrast between the financial bases of the two parties is much starker than their convergent political programmes might suggest. For Democrats, the principal corporate donors are overwhelmingly the trade unions and professional associations. For the Republicans, the main donors are corporations involved in some of the most controversial industries in the land.

The Democrats' top contributors in this electoral cycle are the electricity workers, with $2.3 million, followed by the public service workers ($2 million) and the Association of Trial Lawyers of America ($2 million). The Republicans' main cash cows are Philip Morris tobacco ($2 million), the Amway direct retail group ($1.47 million) and the UPS parcel delivery network ($1.23 million).

In all cases these donors give something in the expectation of getting something back. Big tobacco companies, led by Philip Morris, for example, ploughed $6.1 million into these elections. In return for their money they have, so far at least, been spared legislation enforcing their $368 billion settlement with the states. As cost-effective investments go, the industry can rarely have done better. And you wonder why campaign finance law has not been reformed?

Washington Post, page 17

Schröder faces a baptism of fire



Europe this week

Martin Walker

THE NEW German chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, was the focus of attention when he met his fellow European leaders at the Austrian summit last month. Everyone wanted to know whether he was really in charge, or just a stalking horse for the party boss and powerful new finance minister, Oskar Lafontaine. The jury is still out, although Downing Street's money is on Schröder, who they think has been under-estimated.

The leaders also wanted to know his views on interest rates (discreet silence); growth and jobs (yes, please); Franco-German relations (splendid); and the prospects for Anglo-German partnership (jolly good).

They were also interested to know how he planned to go about ruling the world, when Germany gets to do just that in January. This is no flight of fancy. On January 1, Germany assumes the chairmanship of the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, which means it will host the international economic summit and run all the meetings, including the crucial G7 finance ministers' sessions that are increasingly the board of directors of Global Economy Inc.

Germany also assumes the rotating Presidency of the European Union on January 1, and will host the EU summit in Cologne in June. Schröder will also run two other summits in February and March, to try to resolve the problems over the EU's next six-year budget. This means trying to untangle the Gordian knot of the Common Agricultural Policy, as well as sorting out who pays how much into the budget, and how much they can all expect to get back.

So Schröder's words are being scrutinised with extraordinary care. As the summit in Austria suggested, Europe is to turn again to Keynesianism. Lafontaine, the French and Italians all back this, and it will be up to Schröder to decide how far this goes. If Tony Blair's idea for a new European defence structure is to develop into a force and a political will that can intervene in future Kosovo-type crises without hiding behind American skirts, it will be up to Schröder to say so.

It was odd, therefore, that the most dramatic impact that Schröder has made was through an off-the-cuff remark as he was leaving the EU summit to attend a Social Democratic party rally in Bonn. He was asked if there had been any discussion of the EU's enlargement plans, and he replied with an almost neutral statement of the obvious: "It looks much more complicated than we had originally thought."

Poland and the other eastern European states were extremely upset. Many in the European Commission breathed a sigh of relief. The new German foreign minister, the Green leader Joschka Fischer, decided he had better add Warsaw to the schedule for his first foreign jaunt, which already included London and Paris, in order to reassure the neighbours. This was a reminder that with a population approaching 40 million, Poland is going to insist on joining Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain in the big boys' club once it becomes a member.

The new, democratic government of Slovakia cursed itself for not getting its formal re-application into Brussels before Schröder's comment, and hastened to do so before any firm decisions were taken. Slovakia, excluded earlier because its last government — under Vladimir Meciar — was too authoritarian, was hoping to be drawn quickly into the first wave of new EU members.

Fat chance. Schröder had opened a Pandora's box, and half of Brussels is now trying to cram it shut again. Take the Mediterranean island of Malta. The Maltese elections in September returned a government that revived its formerly frozen application to join the EU. Democratic, prosperous and stable, and with its population of 365,000 too small to disrupt anything, Malta should be a shoo-in for fast entry. Even the Commission agreed it would only have to update the paperwork for Malta's accession.

But Malta's application is now on hold, and the Commission says it will not be able to submit its report until after the EU summit in Vienna on December 11-12. The reason is that everybody wants to avoid another row over enlargement at Vienna, like the one 12 months earlier over Turkey, which overshadowed the Luxembourg summit.

But a row is coming, and if Schröder is wise he will not want it to break out on his watch, when he has the budget problem to sort out. The Finns, whose first turn at holding the EU presidency starts next July after the German stint, are quietly dreading the mess that may await them. As well they might. Greece had a fit last week after getting hold of the Commission's draft report on the current status of enlargement talks with the 12 candidates. First, the Greeks complained, the report includes Turkey (as the Cardiff summit last June agreed it should, but as a special case). Second, Athens complained that the report on Turkey glides too smoothly over the problems of democracy and human rights.

The Scandinavians meanwhile are pushing for the accession of the Baltic states. Estonia, whose adroit use of a currency board to control inflation and satisfy the world's central bankers, is already in the first wave, and its economy is moving so fast that it could join tiny Slovenia as one of the first two new entrants by 2002. But Latvia has also done stunningly well since it was put into the second wave of applicants by the Commission's assessment teams 18 months ago.

Nothing, except budget rebates, farm subsidies, interest rates, central bank policies, and arguments over a common foreign and defence policy, gets the EU member states quite so hot under the collar as the issue of enlargement. Poor Schröder looks to be getting them all on his plate at once. His joy in succeeding Helmut Kohl will not last long. On top of the G7 business, Germany's new chancellor is facing a fearsome baptism of fire.

Taliban cracks down on 'moderates'

Jason Burke in Jalalabad

ON A WARM autumn evening, news spread through the bazaars of the eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad that Mullah Mohammed Tourabi, the minister for justice in the Taliban government, was in town. An uncompromising hardliner who lost an eye and a leg in the war against the Russians, Mullah Tourabi is the Taliban's chief troubleshooter, stamping out dissent as he travels the 90 per cent of the country under the control of the Islamic militia.

By the next morning the reason for his visit had become clear. Tanks were blocking main roads into the city and cordons of troops hemmed in the populace as identity cards were checked from house to house. By the time Mullah Tourabi left, three days later, Jalalabad's jail was so full that detainees were being sent 550km south to the city of Kandahar.

Since Mullah Tourabi's reign of terror began last month, people have been rounded up in remote villages, on the ruined streets of Kabul and around the leafy squares of the western city of Herat. There have even been arrests among frontline troops — including pilots who fly the Taliban's few MiG jet fighters.

By the time the security forces' job is done — according to one source with access to the Taliban's list of targets — at least 2,000 people will have been incarcerated.

Within hours of the first arrests, rumours surfaced that the crackdown had been prompted by an attempted coup against the Taliban — the first since the movement started rampaging through Afghanistan four years ago.

Eventually the authorities admitted a version of the truth. Mullah Sadre Azam, deputy governor of Jalalabad, said a terrorist plot to destabilise the country had been smashed. Only 60 people had been arrested, he said, and documents seized from them revealed their plans.

"They were backed by a foreign power and were aiming to explode bombs and fuel lawlessness before taking control," Mullah Azam said last week. "They wanted to stop us enforcing the law of Islam and stop us fighting crime. They will be tried and sentenced according to Islamic law."

It is almost impossible to know how much of what he says is true. Jalalabad is now a city in fear. Few are willing to talk to journalists — and those who do insist on meeting behind closed doors after establishing contact through intermediaries.

Shopkeepers deny all knowledge of arrests — the Taliban watches everyone. And while the Taliban itself is unable to provide proof of the conspiracy, sources among opposition groups in Peshawar, the Pakistani border town that provides refuge for many anti-Taliban activists, say a small group of dissidents in and around Jalalabad were indeed planning some kind of subversive campaign.

"The logic is obvious. For most Afghans, the only good thing about the Taliban is that they have brought peace and security," said one activist. "The way to discredit them is to show that they can't even guarantee that. Then you'll have the support for a change of regime."

But the Taliban has arrested far more people than could have been involved in any such conspiracy. The regime is using the plot as a pretext for a more general purge. Few of those arrested in Jalalabad appear likely candidates for dangerous terrorist activities.

Ahmed Ali Khan, a chemist, was among the first wave of detainees. Two armed Taliban came to his shop and told him there were some questions they wanted to ask him. He was driven to the town security office in the back of a pick-up truck.

Friends said Mr Khan's family only found out what had happened to him last week, when they were ordered to come to the hospital to give blood. The chemist had been so badly beaten during interrogation that he needed transfusions to stay alive.

All who know the man say he had no involvement in politics at all, let alone a coup plot. He was "straightforward and honest and a good chemist", according to one colleague. His relatives said he was a quiet, timid man.

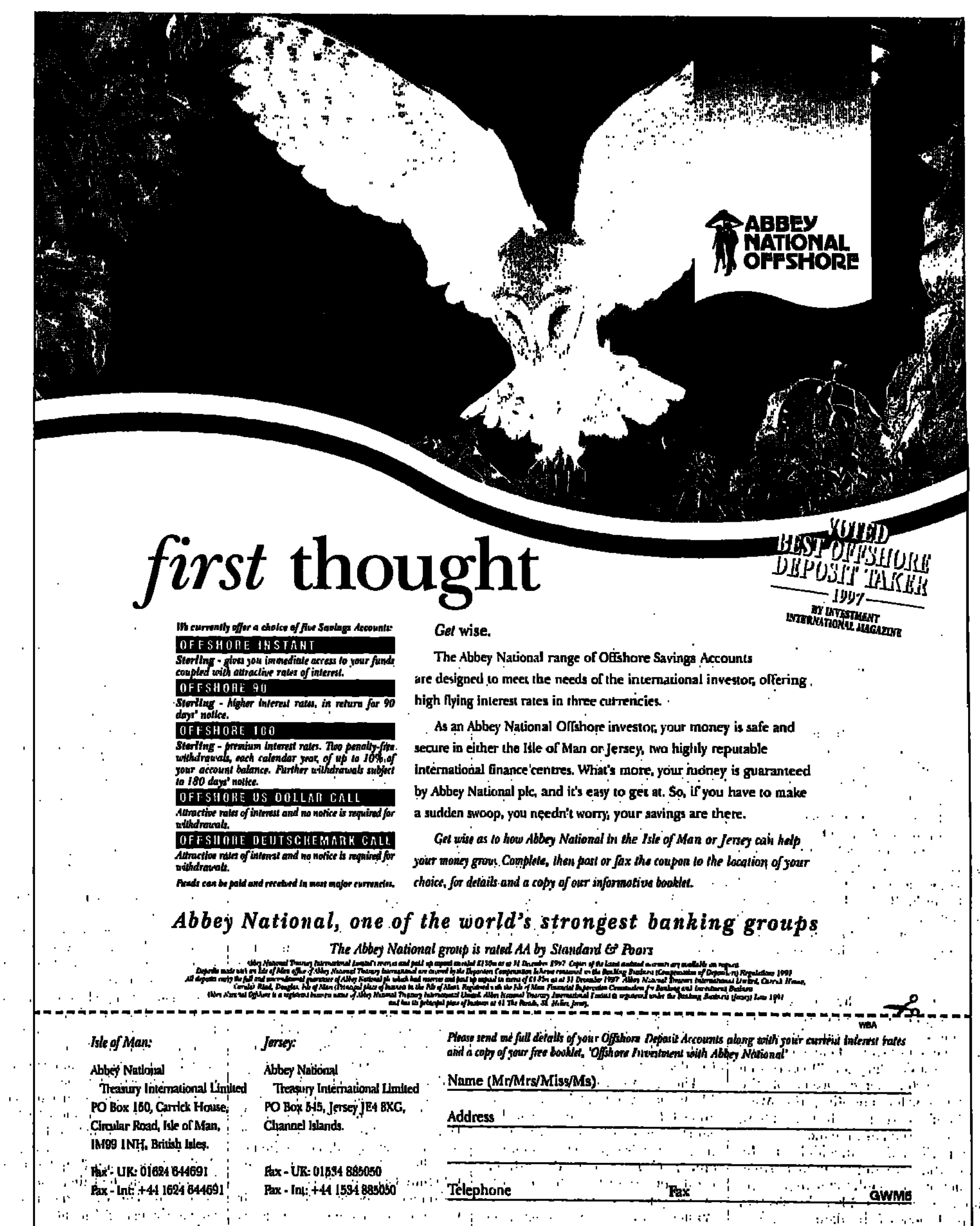
When the Taliban came for Abdul Raziq Pacha, a 70-year-old community leader, he was told that "Tourabi wanted to speak with [him]", according to one relative. His relatives reject suggestions that the old man was involved in a violent plot. "It's true that a lot of people came to see him," one said. "But that was just because he was well respected. There was nothing political in it. We can't work out why they would do this."

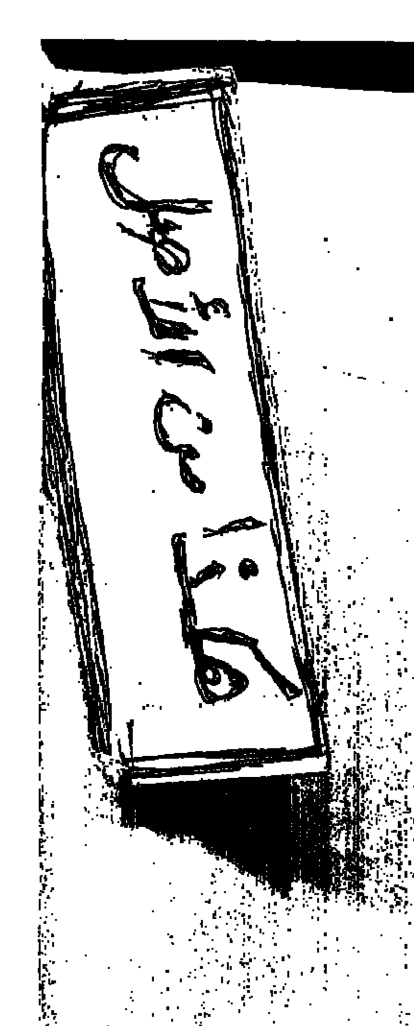
One reason is that, despite its hugely successful summer offensive, which shattered the opposition forces in Afghanistan, the Taliban is none the less in difficulty. Saudi Arabia, a key source of support, has suspended relations, angry at protection given to the alleged terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden. The Taliban also faces grave financial problems. Senior officials have admitted that the movement is broke — a serious problem, as success in Afghanistan depends on bribes as much as on bullets.

And, crucially for the people of Jalalabad, factional splits are beginning to show. Hardliners led by Mullah Omar — the spiritual head of the Taliban — are increasingly at odds with "moderate" elements.

The victims of the purge largely appear to be supporters of the moderates; the men behind it are almost all hardliners. Once more it seems Afghans at the bottom are suffering as a result of power struggles at the top. — *The Observer*

● Taliban troops in Afghanistan executed as many as 2,000 civilians when they captured the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif in August, according to a report published last weekend. Describing the massacre as one of the worst atrocities in Afghanistan's long civil war, the New York-based Human Rights Watch accused Taliban forces of singling out the minority Hazara community, who are Shia Muslims. Most Afghans, including the Taliban, are Sunni.





The Week in Britain James Lewis

Heroin in schoolboy's satchel stuns parents

HOW DID a boy of 11 come to have 50 wraps of heroin, with a street value of £500, tucked inside his satchel at Craigton Primary School in the Govan area of Glasgow? The boy and his family have been grilled by police and social workers, but the question has yet to be answered.

There has been a suggestion that he took them to school unwittingly and that they belonged to a known drug dealer. The heroin was said to be "professionally wrapped" in the kind of "£10 hits" which can be bought in the more run-down, drug-ridden parts of the city.

But Craigton is considered to be a good school in a relatively prosperous area. Although there is no suggestion that the boy was dealing drugs in the school, parents were shocked by the discovery.

The contents of the boy's satchel were reported by a classmate to his teacher, who called the police. Even officers used to the hard-bitten realities of the city's drugs scene did not expect what they found. "It would be unusual to find that number of heroin wraps on one person at any time — but to find it on a child of 11 is extremely shocking," said one of them.

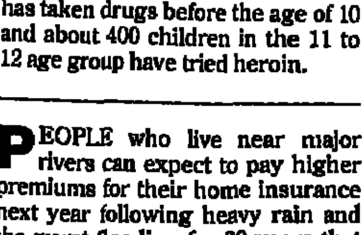
At another Scottish primary school, in Stirling, a seven-year-old boy handed his teacher a packet of heroin, with a street value of £100. He said he had done it because he was worried about his mother's well-being. A woman of 26 was later reported to the Procurator Fiscal.

In a third case, a young boy was discovered with a large quantity of what was believed to be cannabis at a school for four- to eight-year-olds at Farnham in Surrey.

Keith Hellawell, a former chief constable who was appointed earlier this year as national drugs "tsar", said that urgent action was needed to stop isolated cases like these — where children came into contact with drugs through their families — becoming a trend. Meanwhile the Scottish education minister, Helen Liddell, has set up an emergency team to deal with drug incidents in schools.

In common with all Glasgow primary schools, pupils at Craigton had regular lessons on the dangers of drugs — including visits by former addicts.

In January Allan Harper, a 13-year-old from Cranhill, east Glasgow, was found dead from a heroin overdose. Since then research at Glasgow university has revealed that one in 10 children in Scotland has taken drugs before the age of 10 and about 400 children in the 11 to 12 age group have tried heroin.



PEOPLE who live near major rivers can expect to pay higher premiums for their home insurance next year following heavy rain and the worst flooding for 30 years that has affected large areas of the Welsh border counties, the West Midlands and, to a lesser extent, southern areas of England.

The River Severn, which rose by more than 6m higher than normal, breaching its banks and man-made defences over a 100-mile stretch, caused most of the damage, affecting thousands of homes around Shrewsbury and Telford. Inshore lifeboats were positioned at various points in the Midlands to take the elderly and infirm from their flooded homes to places of safety.

Parts of Hereford disappeared under water when the River Wye broke its banks and reached a record peak of 6.5m above normal. Not since the hurricane which battered much of Britain 11 years ago has the country suffered such high rainfall for October.

ANOTHER package of Labour welfare reforms, this time concentrating on disability benefits, was artfully constructed in such a way as to disarm those who feared a programme of deep cuts.

The Social Security Secretary, Alistair Darling, aims to cut £750 million a year from disability benefits, which now account for around £24 billion, or a quarter of the total social security budget.

New benefit claimants will be required to attend interviews with "personal advisers" on jobs and training, and there will be a claw-back in benefits for those claimants who already have a private pension or health insurance worth more than £50 a week.

Denying that the Government was embracing American-style "workfare", the minister said there would be an additional £30 million available for disabled work-seekers, £25 a week more for the disabled young, and a new "disability income guarantee" to underpin the incomes of the poorest disabled people.

Responding to criticism that the Government was expecting disabled people to find employment, Mr Darling said the theme of his reform was: "Work for those who can, and security for those who cannot."

THE Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, Sir Paul Condon, who is leading a purge of corrupt officers, said that wages for recruits had fallen so dangerously low that "you are almost inviting them to indulge in malpractice".

Recruits to the Met earn £16,000, but receive no London living allowance. That didn't mean that they all went off and did bad things, said Sir Paul, "but if you're serious about integrity, you must make sure there is a reasonable level of pay and conditions that . . . doesn't tempt them into malpractice".

John Wadham, director of the rights group Liberty, said: "It would be a shocking world if the only way in which we could ensure honesty was to pay our police so much that they were rich enough never to be bribed."

MUSLIMS are, in law, a religious rather than an ethnic group, and are therefore not covered by the Race Relations Act.

This was the High Court ruling of Mr Justice Tucker, who rejected an appeal by the London council of Merton against the Crown Prosecution Service's decision not to prosecute Paul Ballard, of the extreme rightwing British National party, over stickers asserting "Rights for Whites" and leaflets campaigning against the conversion of an old dairy into a mosque.



Reconciliation . . . Prince Andrew and President Menem of Argentina outside St Paul's cathedral in London PHOTOGRAPH: DYLAN MARTINEZ

Old enemies make peace

DENZIL Connick did something last week that was once beyond his wildest imaginings. He shook hands after a ceremony at St Paul's cathedral with the president of the country whose troops caused him to lose a leg in the Falklands 16 years ago, *writes John Ezard*.

Later, the Queen gave lunch to a man whose soldiers once tried hard to kill her son, Prince Andrew.

In a more practical symbol of the new stage in reconciliation between Britain and Argentina, the two countries also signed a defence agreement paving the way to closer co-operation between their armed forces.

President Carlos Menem marked his regret for the 1982 Argentine invasion of the Falklands by laying flowers on the memorial to the 250 British dead at St Paul's. His daughter Zulema stood weeping as he did so.

His most aristocratic escort was Prince Andrew, who piloted a Royal Naval helicopter during the conflict. On his official visit to Britain, President Menem was reciprocating the prince's recent gesture during a visit to Buenos Aires in laying a wreath on the Malvinas veterans' memorial.

Air hostess 'feared for life'

Sarah Hall

A DRUNKEN passenger smashed a vodka bottle over the head of an airline stewardess, then raked the jagged glass over her body at the end of a flight to Malaga, Spain, last week.

Fiona Weir, aged 31, from Wimbledon, South London, needed 40 stitches after the attack in the galley of the Airtours flight from Gatwick.

Four passengers pinned down the man as Ms Weir staggered down the aircraft steps and collapsed on the Tarmac. "I just knew if I didn't get out of that aircraft he was going to kill me."

But Ms Weir said her attacker, Steven Handy, would not make her give up work. "I love my job and I'm not having him put me out of the career I have been doing for such a long time."

The air hostess of six years said she was confronted by the passenger after more than three hours of trouble. Staff suspected he had been drinking before he boarded, and Ms Weir warned him he faced arrest for smoking in the toilet.

As the aircraft made its final approach at the end of the 3¼ hour flight, the pilot radioed ahead, asking the Spanish authorities for help. But as the plane taxied to its stand, the passenger stood up and hurled abuse at Ms Weir.

She added: "From nowhere the litre bottle of vodka came out and hit me on the head. I fell to the floor and put my arm up to protect myself and I got it across the arm and I cowered into the corner.

"He used the broken bottle on my back but at this point, passengers pinned him down."

Ms Weir, who married two months ago, was taken to a private clinic where she needed several stitches in her back and arm. She also had a badly bruised face.

A spokesman for Airtours, which has seen a catalogue of incidents involving drunken passengers in recent years, said the passenger had not been given alcohol on the flight. "This is certainly the worst attack we've suffered as an airline. We will ban this man for life and we'll be informing other UK airlines."

Mr Handy said Ms Weir provoked him. "She was aggressive so I did her," he said. He admitted he should not have used the bottle.

Mr Handy was freed on bail by a Spanish judge and was due back in court this week.

Richard Branson, the chairman of Virgin Atlantic, has called on airlines to operate a global passenger blacklist against dangerous travellers. He said he planned to create a shared database with Airtours this week.

Cleared sex case teacher to sue council

David Ward

A TEACHER who was sacked, despite being cleared in three inquiries of a sex assault against a pupil, is to sue a local authority for £200,000.

"I want my reputation back," said Lance Dowson, who taught disturbed and abused children in the care of Stockport social services until his suspension in 1995.

The accusation was made by a 16-year-old girl, who used drugs. Mr Dowson, aged 55, claims he had almost no contact with her, although she alleged he made her have sex with him. Later she alleged rape.

Council officials cleared Mr Dowson after an internal inquiry. The case was later reported to the police, who found there was no evidence to support the girl's claims.

Stockport's social services department then asked for it to be examined by the Crown Prosecution Service, which found no grounds for charges.

Despite being cleared after inquiries lasting more than a year, Mr Dowson was told by the council that he could not go back to work. Wearied by the process and suffering depression, Mr Dowson agreed to take early retirement in November 1996. However, an industrial tribunal later ruled that he had been forced to choose between doing a deal with the council or having no income — he had therefore been dismissed. The two sides reached an out-of-court settlement.

Now Mr Dowson is claiming the council made 17 breaches of his contract, and is seeking damages. He said that despite working for more than 30 years with victims of violence and sexual abuse he is now "totally ruined financially, emotionally, everything".

Just before Mr Dowson was due to return to work after the internal inquiry, he was told police had been informed because social services officials feared charges of a cover-up. Seven weeks after being cautioned and interviewed, he was told there was no evidence to support the girl's claims.

"I feel as if I am the one who has been abused . . . I was never given a clear account by the council of my offence . . . and Stockport has never issued a statement to say that I have been cleared of the accusations against me."

In Brief

LABOUR MPs demanded more effective, credible, and independent scrutiny of the security and intelligence agencies as the Commons debated the activities of MI5, MI6 and GCHQ for the first time.

DRUG abuse is so prevalent among workers that one in 10, including the over-60s and senior executives, are testing positive for illicit substances, according to the Forensic Science Service.

THOUSANDS of students launched the biggest national protest against tuition fees, amid warnings by their lenders that hardship was at record levels.

RENEGADE loyalist terrorists in Belfast admitted they murdered a Catholic man, Brian Service, selecting him at random and firing five bullets into his head and back. Politicians appealed for calm amid fears of a return to tit-for-tat killings.

THE probation service was ordered to take action after Home Office research revealed that five murders and five rapes a month were linked to criminals under its supervision.

THE parents of Matthew Eappen, the baby killed by Louise Woodward, have launched a multi-million dollar damages claim in an effort to stop her making money from the case.

THE case of three men — Michael O'Brien, Ellis Sherwood and Darren Hall — jailed for life for the murder of a Cardiff newsagent more than 10 years ago has been referred back to the Court of Appeal.

WATERSTONE'S is to open the largest bookshop in the world with a million books stored on six miles of shelves at the Simpson store in central London.

JOHN MAJOR overstepped the Tory line by describing hereditary peers as an anachronism and setting out his own proposals for a second chamber.

TOUGHER measures to stem the sale of sports fields are to be introduced following fears that their sale is hampering the development of young sports stars and depriving communities of adequate facilities.

THE Conservatives called on Tony Blair to sack Alan Meale, junior environment minister, after revelations about his business affairs and a researcher's pass to the Commons for a Greek Cypriot millionaire friend.

SPECULATION has started in earnest about the next Poet Laureate following the death of Ted Hughes. Obituary, page 29

'Moment of madness' minister quits

Michael White

THE OUSTED Welsh Secretary Ron Davies on Monday coupled an emotional appeal for a more tolerant atmosphere in public life with a bitter attack on irresponsible "media intrusion" into his private life since an incident in a London park triggered his resignation from Tony Blair's cabinet.

Mr Davies last week admitted a "moment of madness" in which he agreed to go off "for a meal" with three strangers after an encounter on Clapham Common. But neither Mr Blair nor close political allies know exactly what happened.

In a rare personal statement to a hushed Commons, the Caerphilly MP shed no fresh light on the encounter that led to his downfall.

Mr Davies told MPs he had failed to protect his personal safety and "became the victim of what was for me a frightening and shocking crime . . . The process of law will now take its course. For that reason I will make no further comment on that aspect of the matter."

But on the question of his own sexuality he ambiguously conceded: "We are what we are. We are all different, the products both of our genes and our experiences." Some MPs took that as a tacit admission of bisexuality.

Mr Davies's equally cryptic admission that "in my own childhood I learned a hard lesson at a very early age — you can't allow powerful people to bully the weak or to abuse their own power" also puzzled many of his colleagues. Within minutes of his sitting down, it emerged that Mr Davies was referring to brutal treatment by his father.

MPs were divided by Mr Davies's statement to the Commons, some sympathising with his complaints about media hounding, others unimpressed by his lack of candour and appeal for victim status. Either way Mr Davies is persuaded that he has received enough public support since the scandal broke — especially in Wales — to warrant him staying on as an MP and prospective Welsh Assembly member.

Ron Davies, who resigned last week over a 'nocturnal encounter'

But he will not be its leader. This week the Welsh Labour executive began moves to pick a new leader, probably Alun Michael, who was given Mr Davies's old job as Welsh Secretary.

In his personal statement to MPs, granted by the Speaker but very rare in the Commons, Mr Davies contrasted the flood of letters and phone calls with the "stream of rubbish" in the media.

He warned that the hounding of people for "one mistake" may deter people from standing for public office, and denounced lives being "picked over and twisted out of all recognition" for public titillation.

Such claims could rebound on Mr Davies if prosecutions in the case confirm unsavoury allegations against him.

Mr Davies's resignation from the Cabinet dealt a significant blow to the Government's squeaky-clean reputation and brought the turbulent Welsh Secretary's Cabinet career to an end.

With Mr Davies reluctant to say more than to deny it had been a "sexual encounter", shocked MPs were left to draw their own conclusions. Few doubted that sex was a central factor in the incident in a public park known as a gay cruising haunt.

In his only TV interview Mr Davies said: "I was robbed, my personal effects were stolen, my car was stolen. It was an error of judgment on my part to put myself in a position where I could be a victim of a crime. I have accepted responsibility for that. I want to make sure this Government carries on with the very high standards that it's set itself."

Asked whether he was gay, Mr Davies said: "I am not going to get involved in any discussion of my private life because I believe individuals have a right to privacy whether they are in public life or whatever."

He stressed that he had a "very long-term, loving, stable relationship" with his wife Christina, who has been "marvellously supportive".

Though Mr Davies — who won a hard-fought battle with Rhodri Morgan MP to be Labour's choice as First Secretary — would have quit if elected to the new Welsh Assembly next May, it was the first resignation from the new Cabinet.

It leaves a vacuum for the Welsh Labour party to fill, and no clear mechanism for speedily finding a new Assembly leader ahead of next May's elections against the Tories, Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru. Wayne David, leader of Labour's MEPs, is a runner. So is Mr Morgan.

Mr Michael, the new Welsh Secretary, is also expected to stand. Such a move would represent a huge career change because Mr Michael, a lukewarm devolutionist, has so far been determined to pursue his career at Westminster.

Meanwhile Labour party strategists are braced for the possibility that the party will fail to win an overall majority in the Welsh Assembly. They believe claims about Mr Davies's private life, compounding a series of political troubles dogging Labour in Wales, could destroy the chances of an outright victory. A senior party source suggested: "We will be the largest party by a mile, but it is the difference between that and winning an overall majority."

Donald Fearon has been charged in connection with the robbery that led to Mr Davies's resignation.

Labour signals euro move

Larry Elliott and David Gow

THE Government sent out clear signs on Monday that it is warming to the idea of British membership of the single European currency.

As the Chancellor, Gordon Brown and the Trade and Industry Secretary Peter Mandelson ratcheted up their support for monetary union, government sources insisted that there had been no shift in policy towards the euro — but the warmer language prompted an immediate claim from the Tories that the die had been cast.

Mr Mandelson told the CBI conference in Birmingham that it was "economic lunacy, for the sake of Eurosceptic ideology, to marginalise British business on the sidelines of what should be its home market, as official Conservative policy on the single currency threatens to do.

"We have made it clear that we will join the single currency when it is in Britain's economic interests to do so."

The Conservative leader, William Hague, said that by making it plain that it was a question of "when" Britain would join rather than "if", the Government had revealed its true intentions.

Gerhard Schröder, Germany's new Chancellor, also speaking at the conference, expressed optimism that Labour would sign up for the euro soon when he used his first big speech abroad to welcome the UK Chancellor's timetable for the abolition of the pound.

Mr Brown meanwhile kept to the agreed government line on the single currency when he said that his outline changeover plan, due in January, would set out the practical steps which would be needed "if the UK were to join the euro".

Mr Schröder said: "We hope from the depths of our heart that the UK will soon join. I explicitly welcome Gordon Brown's declaration about drawing up a schedule for the UK's entry into monetary union."

The German chancellor, fresh from talks in Downing Street with the Prime Minister, praised Tony Blair's "clever and astute policy towards Europe" and stressed that Bonn and London were following similar policies.

Anger over Mandelson memo

Janine Gibson

THE BBC this week defended its one-sentence internal memorandum banning reference to the private life of Peter Mandelson, Trade and Industry Secretary, which has prompted claims of censorship, inconsistency and bias.

Released late last week, the memo from Ann Sloman, policy executive, read: "Please will all programmes note that under no circumstances whatsoever should the allegation about the private life of Peter Mandelson be repeated or referred to on any broadcast."

Mr Mandelson's sexuality became an issue last week when the Times columnist Matthew Parris named him on BBC2's Newsnight as one of two gay members of the Cabinet. Mr Parris, a former MP, came out as gay after his term in Parliament.

A spokeswoman said: "The BBC's guidelines say we do not report speculation about the private lives of public figures unless there is a wider issue of public concern."

The memo has been attacked by politicians, presenters and producers. Guests and employees have alluded to censorship.

Mr Mandelson joined the controversy, accusing the BBC of "a blunder". He said that it had provided the Tories with an opportunity to mount an attack.

Although Mr Mandelson has not complained to the BBC, a source said: "The BBC has clear guidelines and there was no need to mention individuals in the memo. The BBC needs to be more professional."

Several programmes were affected by the edict. Jonathan Dimbleby, host of Any Questions, and his guest Mo Mowlam, Northern Ireland Secretary, have told of their incredulity when briefed on the memo. Ms Mowlam called it a "serious error on behalf of the BBC".

A spokesman for Mr Mandelson said: "It has been commented on in the press many times before. I don't think this is particularly remarkable."

One MP said it should be up to MPs to decide whether to speak about their sexuality. "This was a very tired and overdone outing tactic. It was not exactly pioneering and brave. It was unnecessary."



Pinochet given 'sovereign immunity'

Jamie Wilson

GENERAL Augusto Pinochet could be free to return home to Chile this week if the House of Lords upholds a High Court ruling that the former dictator was entitled to "sovereign immunity" and could not be prosecuted for crimes carried out while he was head of state of Chile.

The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Bingham, said in his ruling that nothing invalidated the principle "that one sovereign state will not impede another in relation to its sovereign acts. "The applicant [Pinochet] is entitled to immunity as a former sovereign from the criminal and civil process of the English courts."

Following the ruling the general was granted legal costs, estimated at up to £350,000, from public funds.

The general was later granted bail on the condition that he remains under police guard at the psychiatric hospital in north London where he has moved from the London Clinic.

The decision means that the former Chilean ruler, who is accused of ordering the deaths of more than 4,000 people, is no longer in custody. Although his circumstances in effect remain unchanged, the granting of bail has made it easier for his family and supporters to visit him.

Bail was agreed as the Spanish magistrate who ordered General Pinochet's arrest declared he would press ahead with his attempt to have him extradited and tried after the Spanish National Court upheld his right to bring charges.

The ruling in Madrid will be rendered meaningless, however, unless the House of Lords overturns the High Court ruling.

In Madrid the panel of 11 judges dismissed an attempt by state prosecutors to quash Baltasar Garzón's investigation into the fate of Spaniards caught up in anti-left purges in Argentina and Chile during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Amnesty International called last week's High Court decision "out of step with the spirit of existing international law".

A spokeswoman for The Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, said: "Does this mean that men like Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic are safe to swan around the globe in the knowledge that legally they are untouchable? The High Court has made England a safe haven for dictators and former dictators acting in their official capacity as heads of state."

Outside the London Clinic, there was shocked silence when the result was announced; some demonstrators who claimed their lives had been wrecked by the dictator were reduced to tears.

Sergio Lagos, aged 65, who said his two sons had been killed under the dictator's rule, pulled up his shirt to reveal his own scars. "This is a terrible injustice," he said.

The general's wife and daughter were greeted with jeers and cries of "Killer" from protesters when they arrived at the hospital shortly before the verdict was announced.

The general was moved to the Grovelands Priory hospital in Southgate, north London after last week's ruling. A Chilean airforce jet is waiting at RAF Brize Norton to take him home if the Law Lords find in his favour.

The High Court ruling split Chile, which has become polarised by pro- and anti-Pinochet protests. "This ruling gives us tremendous satisfaction," said Pablo Longueira, president of the rightwing Independent Democratic Union party. "There is no court abroad that can submit Chileans to judgment for crimes committed in our country."

Leftwing parties vowed to continue pursuing Gen Pinochet. There are more than a dozen lawsuits against him pending action in Chile.

The president of the Communist party, Gladys Marin, said the arrest, though quashed, remained a triumph. Pinochet has been accused and judged in the international community as responsible for crimes against humanity."

In Paris meanwhile a French state prosecutor opened a judicial investigation into Gen Pinochet on suspicion of kidnapping and torture involving at least five Franco-Chilean families.

Comment, page 13
Washington Post, page 18

Terribly sorry, old chaps

POLITICAL SKETCH

Simon Hoggart

THE news about the Welsh Secretary Ron Davies sent a jolt of electricity coursing through the Commons. Such events always do. There are three stages.

First, people come up to you and mutter that they had their suspicions all along: what d'you mean, didn't you know? Next they say what a tragedy it is, that a decent man should be brought down by a single error of judgment. Then they start telling the jokes.

(The Prime Minister might not have been terribly sorry to lose Mr Davies, even under these regrettable circumstances. Years ago Mr Blair was discussing devolution with colleagues, and thinking aloud that it could lead to an independent Wales. "You wouldn't need Ron Davies in the Cabinet, Tony," someone said, and apparently a beatific smile spread across the features of the then leader of the opposition.)

You can understand why they love an issue like this. It is something they can grasp. Unlike unemployment, crime or education, the story isn't elusive and intractable.

Last week the House considered foreign affairs. Sudan, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Libya, the Middle East — there's not an awful lot they can do about any of those either. Bombs rain on southern Sudan, peasants' arms are sliced off in Sierra Leone, buses explode in Israel, and the House of Commons has slightly more influence than the Lagting which governs the Faroe Islands.

Then the Tories made another effort to nail the Government over the Pinochet affair. Robin Cook's line was that the law must take its course, and that it would be disgraceful for any minister to intervene.

They could have pointed out that Mr Cook had given the general VIP treatment at London airport. But they didn't. They never do. Big girls' blouses, all of them.

Tory MPs have also been exercised by the way that an "apology" for the Falklands war in the Sun, apparently written by President Carlos Menem, had in fact been prepared by Alastair Campbell, the Prime Minister's press secretary.

It is a bizarre form of virtual diplomacy in which foreigners over whom we have no control say precisely what we want them to say, because we say it on their behalf.

From "Senator" Pinochet of Chile: Throughout Chile the name of Tony Blair is held in the highest possible esteem. From shepherds on snow-clad Andean peaks to fishermen in Tierra del Fuego, all sing his praises. He has made me very sorry for the wicked things I did, and I wish to apologise to him and to all my countless victims.

From Boris Yeltsin: When the name of Tony Blair is mentioned, it has been noticed that people levitate and an unearthly glow shines from their heads. This autumn he passed over Russia on the way to China, and the land below the flight path was carpeted with spring flowers. So I am really, really sorry about the Crimean War.

From Adolf Hitler: If only Tony Blair had been there in 1940 . . .

Boiling along . . . An American-built, 1901 steam-powered automobile rumbles across Westminster Bridge last weekend at the start of this year's London to Brighton Veteran Car Run. The event began in 1896 to celebrate a law that raised the speed limit from 4mph to 14mph PHOTO: LOUISA BULLER

Rich nations give less to poor

AID flowing from the world's richest countries to the poorest has slumped to its lowest level, writes Charlotte Denny.

Last year, the 21 richest nations gave \$47.5 billion compared with \$55.4 billion the previous year, a drop of 7.1 per cent in real terms. As a percentage of rich countries' output, aid has fallen to 0.25 per cent, the lowest proportion on record, according to the charity Action Aid.

The official UN target for aid is 0.7 per cent of a country's output. But only four members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development — Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden — achieve this goal. Britain is the fifth largest donor in money terms, giving out \$5.7 billion last year, up by \$285 million in cash terms but a decline of 2.2 per cent in real terms. As a proportion of national income, Britain gives just 0.26 per cent.

Action Aid praised International Development Secretary Clare Short for "the first comprehensive government statement on development co-operation in 22 years".

Police lose blanket immunity over negligence

Clare Dyer

THE European Court of Human Rights last week opened the way for compensation claims against the police for failing to act on threats of violence.

British law, which gives the police blanket immunity from legal action in such cases, breaches the European Convention on Human Rights, the Strasbourg court ruled.

It awarded £10,000 each to Mulkiye Osman, aged 50, from London, and her son Ahmet, aged 26. Ten years ago Ahmet Osman was seriously injured and his father Ali killed by a teacher who became obsessed with him and who had threatened officers from the education authority that he would "do a Hungerford".

Lawyers predicted that British courts would act on the ruling without the need for the Government to pass legislation. It will not open the floodgates generally to claims of negligence over crime, but will allow individuals subjected to known threats to sue over insufficient action being taken.

Ben Emmerson, the family's barrister, said: "This ruling does not mean that the police will have to pay compensation every time they fail to prevent a burglary. It does mean that when the police are aware of a real threat to life or limb, they are under a legal duty to protect that individual."

The Osmans' solicitor, Louise Christian, said the ruling would be particularly important for people subjected to racial attacks.

Ahmet Osman was a pupil at Homerton House school, Hackney, in 1987 when a teacher, Paul Paget-Lewis, formed a "disturbing attachment" to him, the Strasbourg court said. He took photographs of the boy, followed him home and changed his name to Paul Ahmet Yildirim Osman.

The school head spoke to police. A psychiatrist concluded Paget-Lewis was not mentally ill but should be transferred. He was suspended pending investigation.

The Osmans complained to police about attacks on their property: paraffin and dog excrement were placed on their doorstep, a brick was thrown through a window, and their car tyres were slashed and the windscreen smashed.

In March 1988 Paget-Lewis drove to the Osmans' home, shot and killed Ali Osman and wounded Ahmet Osman. He also shot and injured the deputy head and killed his son. He pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility and was detained in a secure mental hospital.

When the Osmans tried to sue, the Appeal Court held that a Lords ruling against a claim by the mother of the last victim of the Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, barred their case from going ahead.

Last week the Strasbourg court said the Appeal Court had been wrong. A blanket immunity was an unjustifiable restriction.

Jenkins PR plan redraws political map

Michael White

TONY BLAIR'S Cabinet last week buried its differences over Lord Jenkins's blueprint for electoral reform and appealed instead for a serious — and protracted — public debate over the most radical shake-up of Westminster's voting system for more than a century.

The proposals would empower ordinary voters, not the politicians, Lord Jenkins insisted. The reform would "give voters more choice, be more democratic in the constituencies and lead to a fairer result nationally," he declared. The package would take up to eight years to implement.

The leader of the Liberal Democrats, Paddy Ashdown, led the pro-reform forces in enthusiastically welcoming the report's elaborate compromise — known as "AV Top-Up" — as William Hague denounced it as "a complicated and confused" irrelevance. The Cabinet's low-key response was designed to keep the peace in Labour's divided ranks.

It will also keep Mr Blair's referendum options open, possibly until after the next election. Though Labour has introduced different forms of proportional representation (PR) for Euro-elections and devolution, Mr Blair has previously declared himself "unpersuaded" by the reformers' case for changing the way MPs are elected to the Commons.

Last week he "warmly welcomed" the report, but was non-committal as to whether he will eventually campaign in its favour, despite the likely opposition of many, if not most, of his Cabinet colleagues. They have all promised not to become "standard-bearers" for either camp.

"We've got to manage this process and manage it well," Mr Blair told the Cabinet during a 20-minute discussion of the report, described as "more positive" than expected. That may be mood music, but Mr Blair does not wish to jeopardise a valued political alliance with Mr Ashdown, aides stressed.

The Liberal Democrat leader was equally sensitive to the Prime Minister's tactical dilemmas. "The commitment to a referendum is there. We expect it to be honoured. But it was never our intention absolutely to close an option. That is not practical politics," Mr Ashdown said. That effectively means he would prefer a referendum delayed to one lost. So would Mr Blair.

New assemblies in Scotland and Wales, to be elected by new voting systems, and reforms to the Lords had to be given time to settle down and be assessed, Mr Ashdown said.

He added that a referendum in the last year of this Parliament was probably "about right" and gave his strongest endorsement yet to the idea of a "Democracy Day" double poll on electoral and Lords reform.

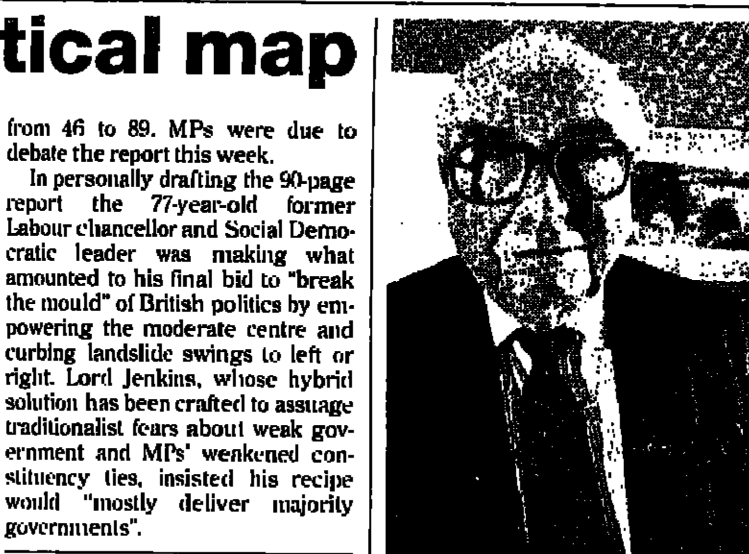
Lord Jenkins's proposals would see 80 to 85 per cent of MPs still directly elected on a constituency basis, albeit with voters ranking candidates in order of preference to ensure that each elected MP enjoyed more than 50 per cent local support.

But the most significant change to Britain's ancient voting habits lies in the "Top-Up" element. Between 100 and 120 MPs would be picked from 80 local lists, allocated to ensure that each party's total number of MPs more accurately reflected the total votes cast.

If the Jenkins system had been in place in May 1997 Labour's huge Commons majority of 179 would have been cut to 77 and the number of Labour MPs cut from 419 to 368 — as they are all too aware. The Tories would have gained three seats, making 168, while Liberal Democrat ranks would have swelled from 46 to 89. MPs were due to debate the report this week.

In personally drafting the 90-page report the 77-year-old former Labour chancellor and Social Democratic leader was making what amounted to his final bid to "break the mould" of British politics by empowering the moderate centre and curbing landslide swings to left or right. Lord Jenkins, whose hybrid solution has been crafted to assuage traditionalist fears about weak government and MPs' weakened constituency ties, insisted his recipe would "mostly deliver majority governments".

Comment, page 12



Jenkins: bid to break mould

The proposals

- ❑ Constituency boundaries completely withdrawn. Existing 659 constituencies reduced to between 530-560.
- ❑ Every voter gets two votes under the new system, Alternative Vote Top-Up. One vote goes to a constituency candidate. The other goes to a Top-Up MP. Electors number constituency candidates in order of preference.
- ❑ Any candidate getting 50% of the vote is automatically elected. But where no one gets half the votes, the least popular candidate is eliminated and his or her supporters' second preference votes are then redistributed.
- ❑ New Parliament will consist of 80-85% constituency MPs with the remaining 15-20% made up of Top-Up MPs.



"I do want to make the right investments
I don't want to invest too much time selecting them
I need Standard Chartered Investment Fund Services or don't I ?"

Investing in the right Unit Trusts or Mutual Funds can bring excellent advantages, but can you afford the time to research the thousands of funds on offer?

INTRODUCING STANDARD CHARTERED INVESTMENT FUND SERVICES

Standard Chartered Investment Fund Services can relieve you of much of the time and effort involved in researching and selecting the right funds for you.

Our Investment Fund Services team have analysed more than 7,000 Unit Trusts and Mutual Funds from around the world to create a short list of top-performing funds. We then use unique risk profiling techniques to help you select the funds that are best suited to your individual needs.

Once you've made your choice, we'll help you buy and sell your investments and we'll even hold them in safe custody on your behalf.

Like all aspects of our Investment Fund Services, these benefits are provided absolutely free of charge. So, we hope that, having considered the question we've posed above, you'll want to say 'I do'.

For more information about our Investment Fund Services – or about our other accounts and services – please return the coupon below to:

Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited, PO Box 830, Conway Street, St Helier, Jersey JE4 0UF.

Or, call Mrs Noreen Le Cornu on Jersey +44 (0) 1534 507001. Fax: +44 (0) 1534 507112.

The principal place of business of Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited is Jersey, and its paid-up capital and reserves exceed £48 million. Copies of the latest audited accounts are available on request.

Deposits made with the office of Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited in Jersey are not covered by the Deposit Protection Scheme under the UK Banking Act 1987. Jersey is not part of the UK.

The issue of this advertisement in the UK has been approved by Standard Chartered Bank, London, a member of IMRO and SFA. Please note however that business with Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited and with other Standard Chartered Group offices outside the UK is not eligible for (a) all or most of the protections provided under the UK's Financial Services Act or (b) compensation under the UK's Investors' Compensation Scheme.

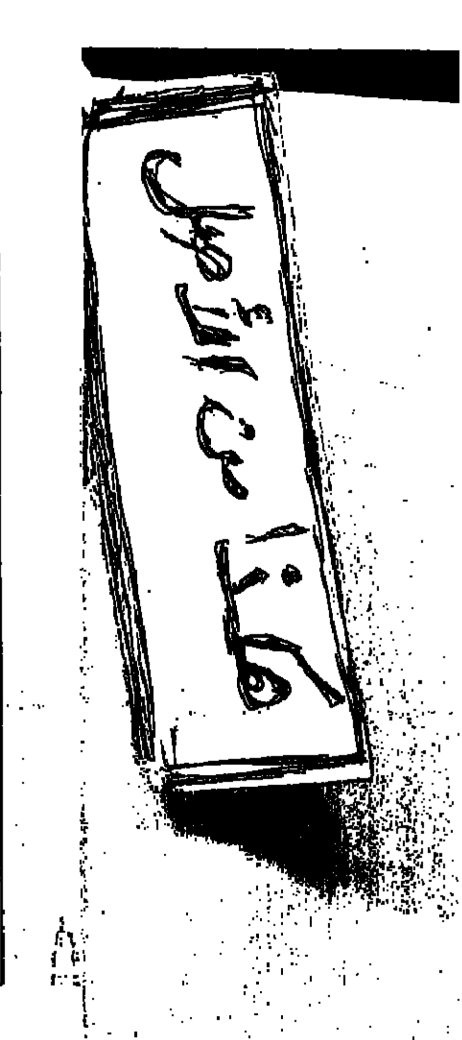
Minimum initial investment £5,000 (or currency equivalent) can be split between two funds ie. £2,500 per fund. Thereafter £2,500 (or currency equivalent) per fund.

To: Mrs Noreen Le Cornu, Standard Chartered Bank (CI) Limited, PO Box 830, Conway Street, St Helier, Jersey JE4 0UF, Channel Islands.
Telephone: Jersey +44 (0) 1534 507001. Fax: +44 (0) 1534 507112.

Do you require more information about Standard Chartered Investment Fund Services? I Do ☐ I Don't ☐
Do you require more information about our other offshore accounts and services? I Do ☐ I Don't ☐
Do you require our free fact sheet 'The Do's and Don'ts of Investing in Collective Investment Schemes'? I Do ☐ I Don't ☐
How much capital are you considering investing? £5,000-10,000 ☐ £10,000-25,000 ☐ £25,000-50,000 ☐ over £50,000 ☐

Name ____________ Mr/Mrs/Miss/Other ____________
Address ____________
____________ Nationality ____________
Tel ____________ Fax ____________ R50

Standard Chartered



When the truth is not enough

TO THE dead, wrote Voltaire, we owe only truth. In cold reason his view can hardly be faulted. But to their family and friends, especially when their loved ones died at another's hand, something more is required if the pain of loss is to be healed. Justice? Compensation? Reconciliation? Whether the issue is the Chile of Augusto Pinochet or the apartheid regime of South Africa, the opportunity to answer the questions posed by political crimes while memories are fresh is a novel phenomenon.

In its monumental report after two-and-a-half years' work, Archbishop Desmond Tutu's commission in South Africa has clearly found it easier to deal with the first part of the "Truth and what?" question. Even the recounting of truth is a process of selectivity. By trying to be comprehensive, the archbishop has alienated many South Africans. The African National Congress is particularly aggrieved at being accused of gross human rights violations, but its reaction is unworthy. The commission has made it clear that its struggle against apartheid was justified, including the use of armed force. There is no suggestion of equivalence between the evils of a system that was a crime against humanity and the abuses, however serious and including murder, which ANC members committed.

Indeed, the commission's denunciation of apartheid is fuller than expected, far outweighing the space given to ANC wrongs. Virtually every facet of white society under apartheid is flayed, from the churches to the media to the medical profession. This is ground-breaking material, which explodes the myth that apartheid was a construct of the Afrikaner-dominated National Party that English-speaking South Africans found distasteful. Many English-speakers, as well as a fair number of Afrikaners, opposed apartheid and were jailed or killed, but the commission is right to point out how every part of the white establishment had a hand in maintaining the system. Even the judiciary is not spared. The occasional cases when judges threw out government cases and acquitted political defendants were rare in comparison with the day-to-day collaboration of lawyers with apartheid. The commission argues that if more judges had taken a stand the government might have had to bypass the courts altogether and thereby expose the degeneracy of its policies more devastatingly.

In terms of justice in the sense of bringing the guilty to court and punishment the exercise has been less effective. Indeed, it has often worked in contradiction to it by allowing villains to ask for amnesty. But the very process of rejecting amnesty has allowed the victims of apartheid and the relatives of the murdered to expose guilty men to the glare of publicity. The exposure of truth is also a form of justice in the court of public opinion, even if it does not lead to conviction and sentence.

The commission also breaks new ground by its calls for compensation, particularly from the business community and the wealthy. This would not be as comprehensive as the reparations demanded from the German state that succeeded the Nazis, but more on the lines of the awards being made in Australia, Canada and the United States for the suppression of indigenous peoples. But it is right that the beneficiaries of apartheid should pay something back. Much of the tension in the "new" South Africa, including the resentment underlying part of the crime wave, arises from the almost total failure of most whites to accept any need for redress. It also explains why the ANC feels so offended by the commission's decision to ask the liberation movement for yet more Christian contrition while the beneficiaries of South Africa's grotesque apartheid-era inequalities carry on almost unchanged. The simple — and usually dishonest — plea that "We didn't know" does not remove the need to make amends once the truth is made known.

Jenkins offers a vote that counts

THE report of the Jenkins Commission on the Voting System was bound to be a treasure trove of electoral data and political arcana, and it did not disappoint. The familiar alphabet-soup of voting reform was all there — from STV to AMS, AV to FPTP — along with the much-loved invocations of the German model, the New Zealand precedent and the Israeli threshold. For those who have spent a lifetime burrowing away in the undergrowth of proportional representation, last week offered a long-dreamed-of moment in the sun. But for the rest of the nation, too — including those who, as Roy Jenkins admits, have shown "no surging popular agitation for change" — the report is of enormous significance. It lays out a potential solution to a problem that has dogged British democracy from its earliest days. It offers a way for Britons to organise society better and rule themselves more fairly.

In prose that betrays the author's dual life as an historian and biographer, Lord Jenkins has constructed an impressive argument. First, he sets out the well-known drawbacks of the present system, from the disproportionate emphasis it places on 150 or so marginal seats to its knack for ignoring voters who do not back winners, from its frequent creation of "landslide" governments with less than 50 per cent of popular support to its unfair squeeze of third parties. Against that backdrop, and after addressing all the rival options, the five wise heads of the commission propose a mixed system — one that would select constituency MPs through an alternative vote and then top up that number with more MPs, selected by a formula reflecting the balance of votes cast in a county-sized or city-wide area.

It sounds complicated — and that could be one of the biggest obstacles in its way — but this new method might well fix the key problems of first-past-the-post and allay some of the fears that have traditionally put voters off PR. Under the new method every MP will be able to claim the backing of a majority of voters: not all of them will have chosen the winner as a first preference, but they will at least have endorsed the candidate as a second, or occasionally third, choice. That's an improvement on the system of pluralities Britain now has, where an MP can get elected against the explicit wishes of 60 per cent of his or her constituents.

Suddenly there will be no such thing as a wasted vote: even if a voter's first choice was a fringe candidate, his or her other choices may well find their way to Westminster. Labour voters in rural heartlands, or Tory voters in the inner city, will no longer be pushed aside. Politicians will have to court people beyond their traditional base, for their fate may hinge on the second preferences of voters they once ignored. In a Jenkins world there will be no "deserts" — the Tory-free zone of 1990s Scotland or the 1980s Labour-free zone of the English South — because parties with a small but significant share of the vote will have a place. The Liberal Democrats will finally have bench-space in Westminster that more accurately reflects their popularity in the country.

And yet these improvements will not mean sacrificing all that defenders of the current system cherish. Crucially, MPs will still come from somewhere — they will still represent specific geographic areas, whether the current constituencies or the proposed Top-Up counties. Nor will party bosses be handed a new source of patronage. The commission's preference for open, rather than closed, lists for the Top-Up members means voters will not surrender to apparatchiks the right to choose who represents them. Jenkins also makes a good case that coalitions — much reviled by the FPTP crowd — are not that much more likely under the new method.

There are hesitations, of course. The complexity of the Alternative Vote system may deter many voters, no matter how much "neutral education" they receive. Only experience of the system in action will really change that. Stronger is the complaint that no such reform of the House of Commons makes sense until a decision is taken about what to do with Britain's second chamber — and the rest of the government machinery. Devolution and the Bill of Rights are changing everything, yet Britain still lacks a coherent sense of how the whole knits together. Many progressive folk may feel wary of this incremental, patchwork, terribly British approach — demanding a complete vision of our constitution which could be either endorsed or rejected in a referendum.

PR advocates will oppose that. They prefer to seize the opportunity to do something than wait to do everything. They may be right. For the moment, it all depends on the Prime Minister. Will he implement Jenkins? He welcomed the report with more than neutral warmth, though with little urgency. Action will probably be delayed into the next parliament. Meantime there should be a loud, engaged debate on what is now a concrete proposal. We welcome it, and believe the burden is now on traditionalists to prove why this change will not improve British politics — and its national life.

True democrats know when it's time to go

Peter Preston

IT IS the oldest, deepest cause of wounded pride and political crisis — arising every year, perhaps every month, to bring the mighty to their knees. But because it is so common, its motivation so banal, we seldom write of it alone as the reason why great men go bump overnight. Let us call it the Lear Syndrome, and let's find a cure.

Did you see the look on Helmut Kohl's face last week as the Bundestag elected his successor? Set, dour, sunken: he even seemed a smaller man as the power passed from him. I watched his departure — by happenstance — on television in Kuala Lumpur, where another dominant, but ageing leader was beginning to feel the winds of change whistling round his ankles. The Lear Syndrome never rests. Mahathir Mohamad has been prime minister of Malaysia for 17 years now and, though trimmer than Helmut, with thicker, darker hair, is actually five years older, ploughing into his middle 70s. He attacks the Western press incessantly, which does not make him best beloved of the Western press.

In good times that may not matter much. Mahathir's Malaysia knows a lot about good times and the soaring growth rates that have built cities of skyscrapers as well as gross per capita income. It has only recently learned that the good times do not roll for ever, and that all men — even prime ministers making long speeches — are mortal too. And, of course, there's the distressing matter of his erstwhile deputy and putative successor, Anwar Ibrahim, whose trial on an ever escalating list of sex and corruption charges started this week.

I don't propose here to get into any of that murky stuff. The trial will stretch over many months. It's public, with teams of outside observers, and billed as an open test of Malaysian justice. Very well. We saw Anwar's black eye, inflicted in custody: now we shall see what happens next. But it is a symptom, not a cause, of the Lear Syndrome. There have been some nasty riotings, and the streets of Kuala Lumpur were thick with police and gun-toting troops last weekend.

None of these events means that Malaysia is suddenly a society hovering on the brink of chaos. It is not. None of them means that the economic miracle the prime minister built with his "Asian way" is about to come crashing down. It is not. There are tolerable hopes of modest recovery next year. What they do signal, however, in the mind of thoughtful Malaysians, is that a natural cycle may be coming to an end.

The allegations against Anwar, for instance, aren't new. They have been popping up in police circles for years. But Mahathir doesn't seem to have picked them up or, if he did, to have given them credence. Only last year, resting for two months after a heart bypass, he let Anwar run the shop. Who does that remind you of? Not Tony Blair. More the last days of Macmillan complaining that "nobody told him anything" about the Profumo débâcle. The guilt or innocence of Anwar is not material. The sense of surprise at the story in its uncontested development very definitely is. It sends a signal easily read. Worse, because there is now no obvious successor, it seems to portend more years of things just going on as usual.

Mahathir doesn't deserve to go out on such a low note when, eventually, it sounds for him. His energy has been legendary, his drive and determination exemplary. He has been autocratic, to be sure, building a parliamentary hegemony that looks — through the prism of state TV and a superficially fawning press — to lie beyond easy challenge. But he inherited a new country where the blood of ethnic violence flowed too readily, and he has bound those wounds tight. History ought to treat him kindly. He had strength when it was needed.

But history is dictated by what happens at the close, and that is the question now. Is today's Malaysia a maturer society after a decade and a half of growth, prosperity and education? Is it ready for the next, more open phase of development? Does it want a democracy that offers the prospect of change and a press which can reflect that? Is it a child that has put away childish things?

The Lear Syndrome can be encapsulated in four ordinary little words: Time for a change. Time for a change from the stridencies of Margaret Thatcher. Time for a change from the brutal autocracy of her old mate, General Augusto Pinochet. Time for the big man in Bonn to pack his bags and not go to Berlin. Time for Boris Yeltsin to stop being a gasping parody of his former self. Time for Suharto to go, go, go.

ONE CAN see why military dictators hang on too long. They tend to fly with ripped parachutes. But elected politicians are different, and the frequent tragedy is that the more formidable they are, the slower they are at recognising that success involves managed transition, a time to pass the baton.

De Gaulle didn't recognise the runes and paid in humiliation. Churchill derided his memory in his last hurrah. Blair says that 10 years are enough — but what will he say eight years from now? There is an answer, but it is one that the elective dictatorship of Britain never talks about — term limits.

The United States has them. No more Clinton any which way two years this week. Americans would like to extend them to get rid of the ancient dealers of Senate influence. New powers, like the Philippines, have them and use them brilliantly.

Whom do we want to put in the House of Reformed Lords? We flounder for a formula, but why not elect from a "Senate" list of MPs who have spent more than 20 years in the Commons and ministers who have spent more than 10 years in Cabinet — that is, from the legions of the older and wiser, the truly Senatorial? Make the Commons younger and fresher. Set a term at the top.

The Lear Syndrome is an affliction. It turns the gift of legacy into an agony of hanging on. It is the enemy of continuity and the Iago of self-delusion. Time to go. A suitable case for global treatment. By chance, you may be charmed to know, the King of Malaysia is elected by his fellow Sultans for a set five years, a single, transferable monarchy. Now that's what I call a system.

Repent now, while you can

Ariel Dorfman, the Chilean writer, makes a personal plea to Pinochet

BELIEVE ME, General: your detention in London is the best thing that could have happened to you. I understand that it can't be pleasant to be arrested without warning, not to be able to amble along the streets of Chelsea whenever you feel like it, not to know what future awaits you. Just ask the many Chileans who, when your men came for them in the middle of the night, were not exactly lodged in five-star London clinics.

But if you're scared, and you feel alone, and you think you've been stabbed in the back, perhaps you should consider that destiny may have offered you at the very end of your life a providential chance to save your soul. You have, for the last 25 years, been living an illusion, constructing a sham version of yourself, obsessively justifying it. Faking innocence since the 1973 coup, in fact since the death of Salvador Allende, the president who named you commander-in-chief and whom you betrayed.

That first act of treachery was followed by others, an inevitable avalanche of betrayals, because the first great crime always needs to be covered up with more crimes. Dictators aspire to total power in order to seek refuge from the demons they have unchained. As a way of silencing their ghosts, they demand to be surrounded by a rampart of flattering mirrors and genuflecting counsellors that assure the tyrant that yes, you are the most beautiful of them all, the best, the one who knows more. And you ended up believing them, General.

You defended yourself from what you had done, what you were doing, with the isolating walls of your supposed invulnerability, the conviction that nobody would ever hold you accountable, that there was one law for you and a different law for your compatriots. And when Chileans rejected you in a plebiscite in 1988 and forced you to leave the presidency in 1990, you were able, with an uncanny instinct, to trap the whole country in a transition to democracy where you would never have to answer for not even one of your deeds or your words, a transition where you were the only one who was really free to say and do what you wanted whenever you wanted to.

We couldn't, given the terms of the transaction we agreed to under the shadow of your gun, express our true emotions, fearful that if you didn't like our latest move you would just up and kick the table on which the game was being played, threaten the player who had dared to trump your card. We got our democracy back, General, but you set the limits of how far and deep that democracy could go.

And then you confused your country with the world. You thought you could travel to England, a nation that symbolised civility and civilisation to you. You thought that the English would respect the rules and compacts of Chile, would be as subservient as Chile.

It is doubly sweet to think that you ensnared yourself, General, that it was the same arrogance with which you governed that ended up blinding you, befuddling your sense of reality, lulling you into the fantasy that you could always impose your will upon everybody else, insulating yourself as a guarantee that you would never have to look at the nearby pain you had caused others.

That's why this detention, no matter how temporary, is so healthy for you. Also for our country, of course, because it forces all Chileans to look at each other face to face, it tests our democracy, its real strength, its possible precariousness. It finally compels us to confront the need to resolve this complex, ambiguous and eternal transition that you have restricted and cramped with your overwhelming, omnipresent shadow.

I want you to know, General, that I don't believe in the death penalty. What I do believe in is human redemption. Even yours, General Augusto Pinochet. That is why, for the past 25 years, I've wanted so much for this to come to pass: that at least once before your death your blue eyes would have to look at the black and clear eyes of the women whose sons and husbands and fathers and brothers you kidnapped and disappeared.

I wanted them to have the opportunity to tell you how their lives were fractured and ravaged by an order you gave or an order you never blocked. I have asked myself what would happen if you were required to listen day after day to the numberless stories of your victims, if you had to recognise their existence.

You believe in God, General, and therefore might be able to decipher what your wise and compassionate and severe Lord has sent you as your life draws to a close: the chance to repent. To penetrate in the fierce circle of your crimes and ask forgiveness and tell us where our dead lie buried. Personally, as far as I'm concerned, that would be enough. It would be punishment enough. And think of what a great contribution to the country you say you love: you could help our shared motherland take one more step in the arduous, tentative task of reconciliation, which is only possible if the terrible truth of what has been done to us is revealed and acknowledged, if you participate in this bruising search for that truth without lying to us or yourself.

Remember what history and religion and also literature teach us: the best thing that can happen to a criminal is to be captured, because in his solitary cell, without the habitual defences with which he has hidden his past from himself, at times the miracle of a minute window opens inside the prisoner's heart, a window that might lead to self-awareness and redemption.

No, I really don't believe that now that your body has been captured for a brief span, you will use the occasion to find the spiritual path to act like a genuinely free man, someone who can forswear his fear and comprehend the enigma of his life, can suddenly see himself as the immense majority of humanity sees him, can understand why we want to exorcise him. Exorcise you and so many other despots in this century of mass genocide. It's never too late, General. — *The Observer*

GUINNESS FLIGHT

BONDS & CURRENCIES ON THE MOVE

Time to consider global bond funds.

In the current environment of stalling economic growth, volatile equity markets and US Dollar and Sterling weakness, we believe investors should consider high quality bond funds.

For US Dollar and Sterling investors, we would highlight the ***Guinness Flight Global Bond Fund*** and the ***Guinness Flight European Bond Fund*** which offer diversified bond and currency exposure.

These Funds allow investors to participate in the current bond market rally and to gain from further depreciation in the US Dollar and Sterling against other major currencies.

Guinness Flight is one of the leaders in global bond fund management, with a range of 17 offshore bond funds, UK unit trusts and PEPs.

Call us now, or complete and return the coupon below for further details on Guinness Flight's Global and European Bond Funds.

GUINNESS FLIGHT
INTELLIGENT INVESTMENT

CALL +44 (0)1481 712 176
Quoting reference 3906

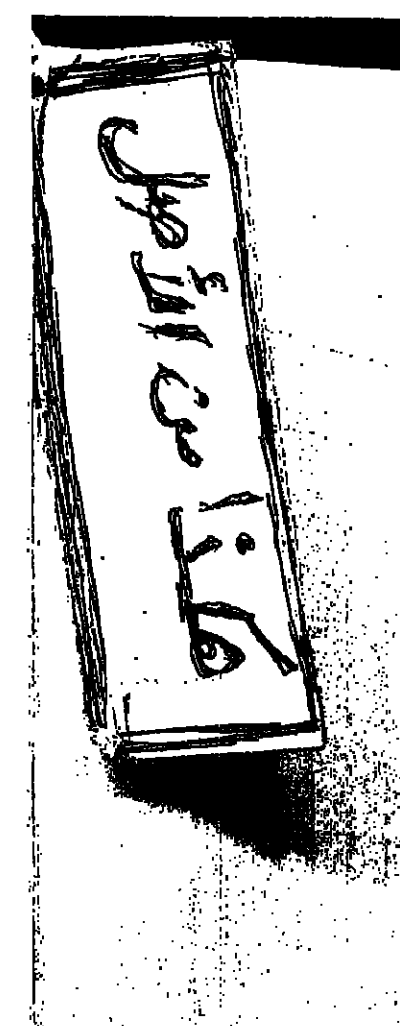
Guinness Flight Fund Managers (Guernsey) Limited, Guinness Flight House, PO Box 250, Guernsey GY1 3QH, Channel Islands.
Tel: +44 (0) 1481 712176. Fax +44 (0) 1481 712065. Internet: www.guinness-flight.com

Please send me more details on Guinness Flight's Global and European Bond Funds.

Title Initials Surname
Address
Country

These funds are sub-funds of the Guinness Flight Global Strategy Fund Limited, a Guernsey-based, FSA recognised umbrella fund. Minimum lump sum investment US$3,000/£2,000 or £150 per month. Past performance is not necessarily a guide to the future. Fluctuations in the value of the underlying securities and the income from them and changes in interest and exchange rates mean that the value of these investments and the income arising from them may fall as well as rise and are not guaranteed. Also, deduction of charges and expenses means you may not get back the amount you invested. These funds may hold more than 35% of their property in government securities issued by the same issuers, details of which may be found in the funds' Scheme Particulars. For your protection, telephone calls may be recorded. Issued by Guinness Flight Hambro Asset Management Limited, regulated by IMRO and the Personal Investment Authority.

3906/98



Brazil has to bite the bullet and cut spending

Alex Bellos in Rio de Janeiro

BRAZIL'S minister of finance, Pedro Malan, unveiled long-awaited austerity measures last week aimed at reducing the mounting public debt in an attempt to extricate the country from the financial crisis that has engulfed the globe.

In a live television broadcast Mr Malan announced a package that he hopes will save $24 billion next year and give Brazil a budget surplus in real terms for the first time in recent history.

The move should pave the way for a $30 billion aid package supplied by the International Monetary Fund, which could help boost both investor confidence and take pressure off the Brazilian currency, the real.

Mr Malan reinforced the message of President Fernando Cardoso in his address the night before, that the country's main challenge was to reduce the massive civil service and pension budget.

Mr Malan wants to raise social security payments for civil servants and collect them from pensioners. That is the most controversial part of the package because public workers have an almost sacred-cow status in Brazil and the government could face an uphill task in getting Congress approval.

The cuts and taxes should produce an overall surplus of 2.6 per cent for the public sector in 1999. The São Paulo stock exchange reacted positively to Mr Malan's statement, but some analysts were less positive.

"The package of measures is not much different than so many others that have failed in the past," said Denisard Alves, chairman of the Economics department at the University of São Paulo. "Congress will most likely oppose much of it and doom it to failure."

Mark Atkinson adds: Global financial markets gave a cool response to moves last week by the Group of Seven leading industrial nations to shore up the global financial system and prevent further outbreaks of turmoil.

Despite world leaders publishing a comprehensive programme of reform, stock markets in London and New York rose only modestly, with Wall Street posting a 1 per cent gain and the FTSE closing up 79 points at 5438.4.

The G7 reassured investors that they would continue with expansionary macroeconomic policies to avert the threat of a world recession and announced the establishment of a new, United States-inspired emergency facility at the IMF from which countries can borrow at commercial rates to prevent them falling victim to financial contagion.

UK Treasury sources indicated that G7 support for countries in difficulty would in future be contingent on banks and other lenders bearing part of the burden by, for instance, agreeing to debt restructurings.

At the heart of the new approach is a commitment to adopt transparent policies so that difficulties can be spotted before they escalate into a crisis, including compliance with new codes of conduct on fiscal policy and monetary and financial policy.

Boeing battles to stay airborne

Production problems, the East Asian crisis and a thrusting new rival are all putting pressure on the world's top plane-maker, writes **Chris Barrie**



Delayed flight . . . Production problems have hit delivery dates for the 747 PHOTOGRAPH. GEORGE HALL

IN SEATTLE'S Museum of Flight last week, executives from two of the world's most powerful companies gathered for a celebratory dinner. Sitting beneath aircraft suspended from the high ceiling, British Airways and Boeing managers raised their glasses to one of those milestones the airline business so relishes.

Bob Dick, one of BA's most senior engineers, taking delivery of the airline's 50th 747-400 jumbo jet, toasted Boeing's heritage and promised to keep buying. Boeing's vice-president of 747 and 767 programmes, Ed Renaurd, praised BA and promised to be its "favourite supplier of aircraft". Engine-maker Rolls-Royce, supplier to both companies, praised them both. It appeared as harmonious as any transatlantic relationship.

But, as the filet mignon and cabernet sauvignon slipped down 160 throats, the speeches did no more than hint obliquely at the Herculean struggle of the world's leading aircraft manufacturer to take its 238,000 employees into a new era.

For Boeing is facing a high-octane challenge from its much younger rival, Airbus Industrie — a tie-up of European manufacturers including British Aerospace. The challenger is threatening to steal Boeing's crown by claiming a greater share of new orders and, further ahead, of the overall market.

Airbus recently won a deal worth potentially $9 billion from BA for up to 188 short-haul jets. Although BA ordered a clutch of long-haul Boeing 777s, the United States firm was bitterly disappointed at the infidelity of a mainstay client.

Boeing has been rocked by its inability to manage its own production processes. Blinded by the need to win orders against Airbus, it committed itself to making huge numbers of aircraft, then found it could not deliver orders on time.

Despite buoyant demand, Boeing's profit margins plunged as it paid through the nose for overtime, rush delivery of parts, and compensation to airlines. Last year the group made a loss of $178 million, its first for 50 years. Its third-quarter results, although in profit by $347 million, revealed margins for next year were likely to be a measly 3-4 per cent.

A leaked memo to a Seattle-based newspaper reveals that United Parcel Service and United Airlines regard Boeing as a "dysfunctional organisation".

As if symbolic of the problems, the handover of BA's jumbo jet was delayed last weekend.

Boeing began its turnaround by sacking Ron Woodard, head of the civil aircraft business. Some Wall Street analysts suggested chairman and chief executive officer Phil Condit should have gone too. But Boeing executives admit no sacking will have any effect without a wide-ranging change of culture and emphasis.

There is not much time. Mr Woodard's replacement, Alan Mulally, senior vice-president of the commercial airplane group, says the Asia-Pacific economic crisis makes him "very concerned". Dan Olason, regional director, product marketing for Asia-Pacific, warns that the cycle of airline orders may be about to turn down.

From Interstate Highway 5, which overlooks part of one Boeing complex, aircraft bearing the livery of Turkish Airlines can be seen on the apron. Seattle gossip has it that the carrier is in no hurry to take delivery of, and pay for, them. There are similar stories about aircraft bound for Korea.

Mr Mulally admits that Boeing has not yet beaten its production problems, although it produced a record 51 planes in October. The company is now delivering on time — although BA's 50th 747 is already one month late — but many of the assembly tasks are being done out of sequence, an inefficient and costly process. "It will take us another year to get it back," he says. "We let ourselves down, and the customers."

He is drawing up a new business plan with three priorities: first, to stabilise the production processes; second, to draw up a product development plan for investment of scarce dollars; and, third, to raise customer services.

HE ALSO wants to strike a new relationship with the airlines and persuade them to share some of the risk in return for Boeing guaranteeing a delivery date and stepping up production to meet it. Mr Mulally hints that the company may buy in more from outside sources, and shed more jobs on top of the 12,000 already slated to go.

The net result should be better margins, into double digits at the operating level within two years, the vice-president forecasts. And he thinks the business community will wait — as long as he keeps it informed.

Inside the Everett factory, the 10,000 workers who make up the first of three shifts seem lost in the world's largest enclosed space. The assembly of the 6 million parts that make up a 747 is largely done by hand, although the company is automating some wing assembly.

Boeing's penchant for using its workers as ballast for its financial outlook, hiring and firing them in thousands as needed, presents its own set of skill problems. One Boeing manager said it was difficult enough to persuade people to do manual work to the required level of competence. But Seattle and its surrounding area does regularly provide people as needed, reabsorbing them when discarded. Wages are high, at $50,000 a year for many, rising to as much as $100,000 for an overtime addict.

Boeing is trying to simplify its processes by cutting the number of options that airlines have — there are 109 different shades of white paint — and is using more computerised design to improve accuracy and cut lead times. Mr Mulally admits that changing the culture of such a huge company could be difficult. Whether he manages to do it in time will depend not just on his own colleagues, but also on two other notoriously difficult sets of people.

The shareholders will have to give him a chance to reorganise and raise profit margins. The early signs are good. And the customers will have to forgive Boeing's past transgressions and talk about mutual help in dealing with the vicious negotiating that makes up the airline ordering business. On this, the jury is still out.

Meanwhile BA is still awaiting delivery of its 50th 747.

In Brief

BRITISH Airways moved to protect its booming profits on the transatlantic routes by putting its strategic alliance with American Airlines on the back-burner. BA will instead expand its "one world" deal with American, Cathay Pacific, Canadian Airlines and Qantas over the next five years in the hope that regulatory issues are settled in the meantime.

THE chief executive of the Rank Group resigned as the UK leisure conglomerate said profits had collapsed over the past three months. Andrew Teare led Rank for two and a half years, during which time the share price fell by 50 per cent. Despite this, he is now in line for a pay-off of about $1.6 million.

DEUTSCHE Bank, Germany's largest bank, announced a loss of $136 million and said it had suffered a 95 per cent collapse in its operating profit, to $42 million, in the last quarter. Deutsche is thought to be one of the banks with greatest exposure in Russia.

THE British government signalled its withdrawal of support for the controversial Multilateral Agreement on Investment. Although the OECD denies that the MAI is dead, a growing number of its members are calling for the draft pact to be transferred to the World Trade Organisation. Meanwhile WTO head Renato Ruggiero has called for a new global body to negotiate environmental protection rules.

JAIL sentences could be imposed on English accountants and lawyers who help foreign clients avoid tax in their home countries, following the disclosure of a Treasury counsel opinion. This means that institutions taking money from clients in the former Soviet Union, where tax compliance is as low as 25 per cent, may have to turn such business away.

MORE than 600 jobs have gone at the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange as a result of strong Frankfurt competition.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates November 2	Sterling rates October 26
Australia	2.6070-2.6706	2.7295-2.7333
Austria	19.36-19.37	19.50-19.52
Belgium	56.74-56.84	57.16-57.29
Canada	2.5668-2.5688	2.6057-2.6089
Denmark	10.46-10.47	10.54-10.55
France	9.22-9.23	9.29-9.30
Germany	2.7519-2.7542	2.7728-2.7765
Hong Kong	12.90-12.91	13.06-13.07
Ireland	1.1041-1.1084	1.1110-1.1139
Italy	2,722-2,724	2,742-2,745
Japan	191.46-191.73	199.92-200.19
Netherlands	3.1030-3.1056	3.1272-3.1299
New Zealand	3.1377-3.1442	3.2176-3.2238
Norway	12.20-12.21	12.32-12.33
Portugal	282.05-282.45	284.24-284.61
Spain	233.81-234.11	235.51-235.82
Sweden	12.93-12.95	12.90-12.92
Switzerland	2.2467-2.2497	2.2643-2.2672
USA	1.6674-1.6683	1.6660-1.6670
ECU	1.4013-1.4031	1.4093-1.4110

FTSE100 Share Index down 6.0 at 5525.5. FTSE 250 Index up 224.0 at 4587.8. Gold up $1.50 at $292.85.

Fischer spells out Germany's intentions

Arnaud Leparmentier in Bonn

JOSCHKA Fischer, a leading Green and, since October 27, Germany's new foreign minister, believes "there is no such thing as a Green foreign policy, only a German one".

The distinguishing mark of that policy will be "continuity", he added. "We had not yet officially taken office when we had to deal with the very serious problem of the threat of military action in Yugoslavia. We managed to resolve it. Our courtesy visit to Washington suddenly turned into something very serious. I don't feel that the fact that I'm a Green was either a handicap or an advantage. Gerhard Schröder [the new chancellor] and I negotiated in the interests of our country.

"The arrest of Augusto Pinochet is an extremely important signal. Whatever the courts finally decide, it has shown that in tomorrow's world dictators and political criminals, whatever their rank, will not feel safe from the arm of the law or the rule of law. Germany should be a country where human rights are defended. Persecuted democrats and dissidents are welcome in Germany."

Fischer, aged 50, is a Francophile who intends to inject new life into Franco-German relations, which deteriorated during the final years of Helmut Kohl's chancellorship.

But he sees no point in signing a new Franco-German treaty: "That has no value in itself. We should get down to essentials and take a new qualitative step in the process of European unification. Relations between states are not to my mind the main issue. The problem lies in the relationship between different societies, intellectual milieux, political élites and public opinions.

"Even though bilateral relations are extremely important, we'll not make any genuine progress until we have a domestic European policy. Indeed, there cannot be any real European foreign policy unless we have a domestic European policy.

"European policy is in the hands of experts, lobbies and a handful of MEPs. But our various societies aren't very interested in Europe, which they simply accept as a fact of life. There's no European-wide debate about our different experiences, our philosophies, our fears or our common objectives."

Fischer, Germany's new foreign minister, arrives for talks on forming a government in Bonn last month

How does Fischer see Europe in the future? "It won't be a federal state, nor will it be a loose confederation. I think the euro will necessarily bring about greater integration, which will have to involve the democratic process, otherwise it will be increasingly difficult to justify European policy in the eyes of the European population."

Fischer is in favour of a "democratisation of the European Parliament", with the setting up of a second chamber representing national parliaments.

He approaches the defence of his country's interests in much the same way as the German Federal Republic did from 1949 on: "We can't define our interests in a vacuum. They are shaped by geopolitics. Our country happens to be where it is, in the heart of Europe. We can't act as though our past never existed. The strength of our collective memory is a factor in Germany's domestic and foreign policies. Our interests have been defined since 1949: our ultimate interest is Europe and its unification process."

Fischer believes that Germany is not going to try to seize the leadership in Europe: "We're in a contradictory situation: on the one hand, Germany says it wants to assume a certain role because of its size and power; and on the other, mistrust due to historical factors is never very far away.

"In the past, by pursuing a policy of self-limitation and by defining our interests in Europe, we did a pretty successful job, even from the point of view of our neighbours' interests. Of course we have our own interests, just as our neighbours have theirs, but what is so fascinating about the construction of Europe is that it means there is maximum motivation to defend the national interest, all within the institutional framework of an overall European compromise."

As regards defence, Fischer is reluctant to discuss any extension of France's nuclear umbrella to Germany: "This is an issue where questions of prestige loom very large, and we should steer clear of that as far as possible in the process of European unification, because it is not something that exists in practical terms. Our two countries' attitudes to the nuclear issue are very different. I hope we'll achieve a further degree of disarmament.

"A united Europe should never be insular. It will always be a good idea for us to be able to fall back on the United States."

Fischer is reluctant to comment on the problem posed by France not being part of Nato's military structure, in connection with, say, a possible military intervention in Yugoslavia: "That's a domestic French political problem."

Fischer is not worried about trade friction between France and Germany. Asked whether he thought Germany's decision to halt the reprocessing of its nuclear fuel might have an adverse effect on Cogema's reprocessing plant at La Hague in Normandy, he said: "There's a very high volume of trade between our two countries, and Cogema accounts for only a tiny part of it. It was a decision that had the support of a majority of the German population, who want to abandon nuclear energy. I think that France, which believes in democratic principles, will accept that fact and draw the necessary conclusions."

Fischer seems delighted with last summer's decision by the Frankfurt stock exchange to "betray" Paris by entering into an alliance with its London counterpart: "As a member of parliament for Frankfurt, I can only give it my energetic support."

(October 28)

Chirac breaks tradition of Pétain tribute

Olivier Biffaud

IN 1968, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the armistice of November 11, 1918, President Charles de Gaulle laid flowers on Marshal Philippe Pétain's grave on the Ile d'Yeu. Ten years later, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing did the same. In 1988 President François Mitterrand followed suit.

This year, however, President Jacques Chirac has decided to break with tradition. He will be the first president of the Fifth Republic not to pay tribute on November 11 to the victor of Verdun, who 22 years later became the architect of the Vichy regime that collaborated with the Nazis.

That contradiction in Pétain's record did not deter Mitterrand. On September 22, 1984, the president placed a bunch of red roses on the grave of the man who was struck off the rolls of the French Academy in 1945.

Mitterrand repeated his tribute on June 15, 1986, as well as on November 11 every subsequent year until 1992, which happened to be the 50th anniversary of the round-up, in the Vel' d'Hiv stadium in Paris, of some 12,000 Jews who were later sent to concentration camps. In the face of angry opposition, Mitterrand decided that the contradiction between the "glory" of Verdun and the "disgrace" of 1942 should be "handled differently".

When asked at the time whether he thought placing flowers on Pétain's grave was one of the duties required of a president, Chirac said: "Frankly, I don't think so." Lionel Jospin, for his part, said that he thought the "Pétain of 1914-18" had been "erased" by the Pétain of Vichy.

The fact that France's president and prime minister see eye to eye on the issue means that it is not something likely to jeopardise their power-sharing arrangement. But 1998 is one of those special 10-yearly commemorations.

De Gaulle was the first president who wished to pay tribute "to the eight marshals who deserved to attain the heights of military glory". The trouble was that Pétain was one of them.

How were the authorities to cope with the problem of November 11, 1998?

The advisers of Jean-Pierre Masseret, the minister for ex-servicemen, managed to come up with a ploy. The president and prime minister will celebrate only those three men who "deserved well of their country", in the words of two laws of 1918 and 1920. Pétain was not one of them.

So, on November 9, Masseret will pay tribute to President Raymond Poincaré. On November 10, the defence minister, Alain Richard, will do the same for Marshal Ferdinand Foch. And on November 11, Chirac will honour Georges Clemenceau.

(October 28)

Ecuador and Peru sign peace deal

Nicole Bonnet in Lima

ON OCTOBER 26, in the Brazilian capital, Brasilia, the Ecuadorean president, Jamil Mahuad, fought back tears as he declared: "After so many decades during which both sides tried to win the war, today our two countries [Peru and Ecuador] will together win the peace." His audience included Latin American leaders, the king and queen of Spain, and emissaries of the United States president and the Pope.

His Peruvian counterpart, President Alberto Fujimori, said: "Today we have proclaimed our right to live in peace."

The signing of this definitive peace accord has rung down the curtain on Latin America's longest territorial dispute. The document also defines the terms of various bilateral trading and shipping agreements, and provides for the setting up of a commission charged with solving any subsequent border problems peacefully.

The accord is the culmination of more than three years of hard bargaining, which began after bloody clashes had pitted the two countries against each other in the Condor mountain range in 1995. It was made possible by pressure from four peacebrokers — Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the US — and confirmed the border established under the Rio Protocol of 1942.

The agreement puts an end to Ecuador's claim to sovereignty over 200,000sq km of Peruvian Amazonia. However, it does grant Ecuador an enclave of 1sq km at Tiwinsa, at the extremity of the Condor mountain range where its troops won a fleeting victory over Peru in 1995.

The provisions laid down by the brokers of the accord include the setting up of two adjoining ecological parks in the disputed area.

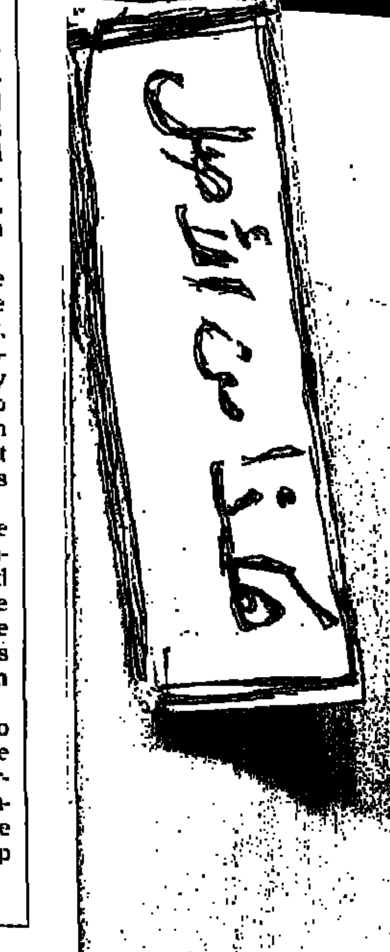
Two other treaties, signed that same day in Brasilia, grant Ecuador "functional sovereignty" over Amazonia. Ecuadoreans will be entitled to travel on the Amazon river and its tributaries. They will also be allowed to use two 150-hectare harbour installations, complete with warehouses, and roads leading into Peruvian territory.

The Ecuadoreans will now have to erase from their memory three centuries of official history, drummed into them in the classroom and endlessly repeated by populist demagogues, according to which Ecuador is an Amazonian country and Peru an invader that has already stolen more than half its territory.

The fact remains that this dispute sparked three wars and caused hundreds of deaths. The accord should enable the two countries, among the poorest in South America, to save hundreds of thousands of dollars that would otherwise have been spent on defence.

It should also open the way to $3 billion worth of investment in the region. On October 25, the Inter-american Development Bank announced it was going to lend the two countries $500 million to help finance transborder schemes.

(October 28)





Elisabeth Olsson with one of her photographs exhibited in Uppsala Cathedral PHOTO: INGVAR SVENSSON

Swedish storm over 'gay Christ' photos

Antoine Jacob in Stockholm

BECAUSE she felt there was a "need" for such photographs, Elisabeth Olsson eventually decided to take them herself — a series of 12 pictures designed to prove that "God is everyone's God". She says that on several occasions Sweden's Lutheran church had made it clear to her that it regarded homosexuality as "a sin" and Aids as "divine punishment".

As a reaction against these "prejudices", and with the aim of prompting discussion of the issue, the 38-year-old Olsson, herself a lesbian, decided to portray Jesus as a homosexual, or in the company of homosexuals. Her 12 photographs illustrate various moments in his life.

The archangel Gabriel hands a glass tube containing sperm to Mary, thus suggesting that she underwent artificial insemination. Conceived in that way, the newborn Jesus is brought up by two homosexual couples, who, "like Joseph and Mary in Bethlehem, have had to go into hiding".

At a public bathing establishment, a full-frontal Jesus is shown being christened by a man who hugs him. At the Last Supper, Jesus is surrounded by transvestites, towards whom "he shows solidarity by wearing high-heeled shoes". Skinheads leave him for dead at the foot of the Cross. A pietà depicts an HIV-positive Jesus in hospital hooked up to a drip.

Olsson's colour photographs, accompanied by extracts from the New Testament, were first shown at Stockholm's Europride gay festival in July. Despite the controversy they sparked, Olsson was invited by a clergywoman to show her work at Uppsala Cathedral, seat of the archdiocese of the Lutheran Church, Sweden's state religion.

More than 10,000 people crowded into the cathedral that day to see Olsson project her slides and hear her explain the meaning of her work. Bomb scares failed to disrupt this "meditation", which had been organised against the wishes of the local bishop.

The photographs have been on show at Jönköping's cultural centre since October 10. Jönköping is the headquarters of the Swedish Pentecostalists and other "free" churches, which are hostile to the understanding attitude to homosexuality shown by the Archbishop of Sweden, Karl-Gustav Hammar.

Police are guarding the cultural centre following anonymous threats against the exhibition.

Many believers, both Protestant and Catholic, have criticised Olsson's portrayal of Jesus. The issue has become so heated that it may jeopardise the ecumenical dialogue organised within the framework of the Christian Council under the auspices of Archbishop Hammar.

Catholic leaders have called for the archbishop to step down from the presidency of that body on the grounds that he has not distanced himself from the exhibition. And they have succeeded in getting his scheduled audience with Pope John Paul II postponed indefinitely.

Olsson, who describes herself as a "believer", says the photographs "are a gift to the Church to encourage it to pursue the debate on homosexuality". The exhibition has already been invited to the United States, Britain, Italy and Switzerland.

(October 21)

Painter of paradox

Harry Bellet

GUSTAVE MOREAU was not just a painter of convoluted pictures with titles such as Oedipe et Le Sphinx, Prométhée and Salomé, but the teacher, at the Beaux-Arts, of such artists as Henri Matisse, Georges Rouault and Albert Marquet.

In other words, Moreau was a paradox. His teaching role made him the tutor, if not the father, of the Fauves, while his own painting struck almost all his successors as old-fashioned and overelaborate. The Surrealists, who adored his work, were an exception — André Breton dreamed of breaking into and visiting Moreau's studio in Rue de La Rochefoucauld at night.

Moreau's contemporaries were divided in their feelings about him. He was often slated by the critics. The bourgeoisie liked his "well-finished" paintings. Prominent mystics such as Joseph Péladan hoped Moreau would join their ranks. But he demurred, preferring to put his gods in his paintings, even if that meant leaving himself open to scathing remarks by Edgar Degas, who compared him to a jeweller and said: "He put watch chains on the gods of Olympus".

It was a damning judgment, but a rather accurate description of a style for which the words "baroque" or "Symbolist" are inadequate. Fans of Moreau argue that in some of his sketches he is a precursor of abstraction. This particularly fatuous idea — why not describe him as a precursor of "environments" or "installations"? — arises from a desire to recognise Moreau's modernity.

He could be modern or *fin-de-siècle*, depending on the work. The large water-colour that closes the exhibition currently being held at the Galeries Nationales of the Grand Palais in Paris — a vigorous nude with folded arms — is indisputably modern.

But Moreau could also be decadent with a vengeance. His monstrous Jupiter et Sémélé is quite overpowering. The mortal Sémélé did not survive the spectacle of her lover Jupiter in all his divine splendour; exhibition visitors could be at risk, too, if they linger too long in front of the painting.

Alternatively, they may feel a greater affinity with Prométhée, who keeps such a stiff upper lip while being tortured that one of the vultures has already given up pecking at his liver and is being glared at questioningly by the second vulture.

The organisers of the retrospective, Geneviève Lacambre of the Musée d'Orsay, Douglas Druick and Larry Feinberg of the Art Institute of Chicago, and Susan Stein of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (the show will later move to the two museums in the United States) were keen to show only what they regard as Moreau's masterpieces, in other words nearly 150 works.

Their hanging of the works, in chronological order, is articulated around three paintings they regard as important: Oedipe et Le Sphinx, which caused a sensation when it was shown at the 1864 Salon, Hercule et L'Hydre de Lerne, which triumphed at the 1876 Salon, and the preposterous Jupiter et Sémélé.

These three works, which mark three periods in Moreau's life, are accompanied by sketches, drawings and variations. They give us a good idea of the artist's working methods: Moreau was undoubtedly painstaking in his work.

The same could be said of the exhibition's organisers. They know almost everything there is to know about Moreau, from his birth in 1826 to his death in 1898. The chronology of the exhibition catalogue omits no detail, and readers will no doubt be delighted to learn, for example, that on January 11, 1882, Moreau received a "payment of 2,000 francs for . . . Roger et Angélique (B 185/M 335) with a frame made by Souty, a New Year gift for Madame Michel Ephrussi . . ."

But the catalogue fails to mention the far more interesting fact that 2,000 francs was slightly more than a worker's average annual wage at that time. That is what art history has come to in France today: an accumulation of trivial facts that must on no account mean anything — in other words, a bit like Moreau's work at its worst.

Gustave Moreau, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris. Closed Tuesday. Until January 4

(October 24)

An outlook that is positively quirky

Philippe Dagen

LORENZO LOTTO'S last work, The Presentation In The Temple, painted between 1552 and 1556 for the monastery of the Santa Casa in Loreto, seems unfinished. It is difficult to interpret the movements of the people in the painting; and their expressions are blank.

Its composition, on the other hand, is straightforward and geometrical. In the centre is an altar consisting of a table covered with a white sheet. The human figures are divided into three groups. One's eye travels from saint to saint, both male and female, then alights on the infant Jesus. Eventually one notices a curious detail: the table has four legs, but the legs are human.

The picture could almost have been painted by René Magritte. The question is: why did Lotto give the table human legs? The catalogue mentions the oddity and refers to the painter's "facetious sense of humour".

Are we then to believe that when he was well over 70, not long before his death in 1556, Lotto, whose piety is amply attested, decided to add a humorous detail to a religious painting that was destined for the Santa Casa monastery, of which he became a lay brother in 1554? The argument is unconvincing.

A much more believable explanation is that the transposition of the table legs is an allusion, a symbol or a code. But what the allusion, symbol or code is has remained a mystery. All we know is that Lotto was not afraid of implausibility.

Indeed, he was so unafraid of it that few of his paintings do not contain similar riddles. Early on in his career, in 1505, after he had settled in Treviso, he painted an Allegory Of Virtue And Vice.

Reams have been written about this small painting because it contains all sorts of odd features. There is a crystal shield bearing an effigy of the Medusa suspended by a red ribbon. A naked child is playing with a set square, a compass, a protractor and a plumb line. A satyr is looking inside a golden vase.

In one corner of the picture a ship is sinking. In another, Lotto has painted something that looks like a sunlit mountain. These are no doubt allusions to hermetic systems that may well never be elucidated.

Quirky elements crop up in every genre Lotto worked in. It would have been nice if he had conceived his portraits in a more direct way based on observation of the model and analysis of his or her character.

This is the case with some of his portraits, where he betrays his admiration for northern painters, and no one more so than Albrecht Dürer. Here he places his models in a not very deep space and studies them in minute detail, as though examining an inanimate object and trying his hand at imitating its volumes and colours objectively.

But other portraits are more complex. In his double portrait of a man and wife, lent by the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg to the Lotto exhibition now on at the Grand Palais in Paris, he also depicts a poodle, a squirrel and a storm. The woman looks stupid and nasty, the man dismayed.

Why? Some authorities argue that the squirrel symbolises lust, others prudence, others again indifference (because it is asleep).

As the years go by, increasing incongruity creeps in. It may be iconographical, but more often it is stylistic. Lotto's church paintings show discrepancies and unevenness of treatment. Compositions are increasingly cluttered with human figures; postures are affected, yet faces remain expressionless or conventionally pathetic, and eyes are raised to the heavens.

In Lotto's lifetime, such qualities earned him little praise and caused him to spend much of his time travelling around in search of sponsors and protectors. What caused him problems at the time explains his success today: his quirkiness and his blatant contempt for realism are now regarded as positive qualities.

But some regard him as an accursed artist rescued from the jaws of oblivion. That is probably why his paintings at the Grand Palais have been hung in a dimly lit, mauvish décor worthy of a Californian funeral parlour. All that is missing is the organ Muzak.

Lorenzo Lotto, Grand Palais, Paris. Closed Tuesday. Until January 11, 1999

(October 20)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

World copyright by
© Le Monde, Paris
All rights strictly reserved

Impeachment Is Not the Real Issue

COMMENT
David Broder

THE temptation to interpret the midterm election as a referendum on the possible impeachment of President Clinton is powerful — and misguided. Everything I have heard in the last six weeks of traveling the campaign trail tells me that if you want to learn what the public is saying this year, look at the voting for governors, not Congress.

It's inevitable that the November 3 results will be read as the first vote on Clinton's future. He made that likely by waiting until 10 weeks before Election Day to start correcting the falsehoods he uttered in January and for months thereafter. The House Republicans made it a certainty by voting last month to begin impeachment hearings right after the November ballots have been counted.

It will fall to the people elected to the House to decide whether Clinton has committed any impeachable offenses. The election will also pick one-third of the jurors who will sit on the Clinton case if the House sends it over to the Senate for trial.

But there are few of the 435 House districts where the candidates are saying, "Vote for me to send a message you do (or do not) want Clinton impeached." Most of those who have taken a clear stand on impeachment, for or against, are in safe seats, where they risk nothing by declaring themselves.

But that does not stop people from stamping this as an impeachment referendum — even though they have a hard time agreeing what the yardstick should be. Midterm elections have become increasingly murky political indicators. In the last 10, going back to 1958, four have been landslides — for the Democrats in 1958 and 1974, for the Republicans in 1966 and 1994. All but the last of these followed presidential year landslides for the opposite party and represented a balancing of the political scales.

The other six midterms — those of 1962, 1970, 1978, 1982, 1986 and 1990 — produced an average loss for the president's party of 12 seats, just about the number many are projecting the Democrats may lose this year. So what would this tell us about "the Clinton factor" in the election? If the Republicans were to go well above that figure, the base from which to draw impeachment votes obviously would be significantly enlarged. If the Democrats were to defy the historical odds and gain seats, it would bolster the president's defense.

But either of these fairly dramatic results would have less impact on the ultimate disposition of Clinton's case than the quality of the evidence amassed for or against him. Before the House can impeach, a much larger share of the public must be convinced he has seriously violated his oath of office — and that will depend on the case that is presented.

Meantime, what the voters really want — and are determined to get in the 36 gubernatorial elections — is sensible, centrist government, whether it comes from Republicans, Democrats or — as in Maine — an independent. Angus King, who won the governor's office in Augusta in 1994 without the support of either party, will probably trounce the major party nominees even more decisively this year, because Maine voters think he has struck a reasonable balance between environmental needs and economic development and has been prudent in spending their tax dollars.

Ron Brownstein of the Los Angeles Times has noted that centrism is guiding Gray Davis toward becoming the first Democratic governor of California in 16 years.

The willingness to use government where necessary, especially for education and law enforcement; to reform systems that are not working, especially welfare; and to restrain taxes or reduce them when possible, is why gubernatorial incumbents of both parties are generally sailing to re-election from Alaska to New York.

The few who are not are governors who have managed to enmesh themselves in ideological fights or squabbles that seem irrelevant to their constituents. It is clear that voters don't want to see the partisanship too often displayed in Washington, D.C. infect the governments close at hand.

If we miss that fact in searching for an impeachment mandate, we mistake the real meaning of this election.



Big deal . . . Paula Jones accepts a $1 million cheque from businessman Abe Hirschfield last Saturday, which she can cash if she drops her sexual harassment case against President Clinton

Primakov Unveils His Rescue Plan

Daniel Williams in Moscow

RUSSIA'S government approved an economic plan last weekend centered on tax cuts, bank rescues, intensified state intervention in the battered economy and printing more rubles. Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov expressed hope that in response, foreign lenders will provide credits. But if they don't, he said, Russia "will not go down on its knees."

The plan's unveiling ended weeks of confused messages from the government, which has signaled an end to the free market approach of previous Cabinets while pledging not to return to a centrally controlled economy. Primakov, with characteristic caution, said his plan could be modified as early as this week.

It is uncertain how long an ailing Russia can await clear direction. Fear of winter food shortages has prompted Primakov to organize emergency food reserves and reduce tariffs on food imports. In the eight weeks since Russia devalued the ruble and reneged on paying foreign and domestic debt, unemployment rose steadily while the purchasing power of the ruble declined by two-thirds. Tax revenues declined precipitously in the weeks between the ousting of Prime Minister Sergei Kiriyenko's government and the creation of the Primakov administration's economic strategy.

Russia's relations with global economic heavyweights are also frayed. In meetings last week in Moscow, International Monetary Fund representatives rebuffed the new proposals and declined to release billions of dollars in loans to help prop up the economy.

Russia also is at odds with private foreign lenders and locked in rancorous negotiations with foreign banks over repayment of debts. The banks have threatened to go to court in their home countries to demand the seizure of Russian bank assets abroad if no deal can be worked out.

The timing of last weekend's announcement underscored the central role Primakov, a former foreign minister and KGB official, has played in deciding Russia's fate. An infirm President Boris Yeltsin left last week for a vacation on the Black Sea coast. Dogged by ailments variously described as a cold, bronchitis, exhaustion and high blood pressure, Yeltsin has made virtually no comments on the economy or anything else since Primakov was appointed in September.

Thomas W. Lippman adds: Chastened by economic turmoil and political drift in Russia, the Clinton administration has retreated from six years of undivided support for free-market reforms and their sponsors in favor of a flexible policy that senior officials say emphasizes Russia's responsibility for its own fate.

The administration has refrained from proposing an economic plan of its own, while warning the Russians, publicly and privately, that a return to government control of the economy, currency restrictions, limits on foreign investment and subsidies of obsolete industries would bring disaster.

Tobacco Firms Spent $43m to Kill Legislation

Saundra Torry

THE TOBACCO industry spent more than $43 million on lobbying in the first half of this year — 23 percent more than in all of 1997 — much of it to kill a national tobacco bill championed by public health groups and the White House, according to a report released last week by Public Citizen, which favored the bill.

According to Public Citizen, the industry "besieged the Capitol with 192 lobbyists," about "one for every three members of Congress." The team drew on "powerful insiders," including former Senate majority leaders George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, and Howard Baker, R-Tennessee, former Republican National Committee chairman Haley Barbour and former lawmakers Stan Paris, R-Virginia, and Charlie Rose, D-North Carolina. It also included at least 18 former congressional staffers.

That behind-the-scenes campaign came as the industry mounted a $40-million national advertising blitz to defeat the tobacco bill, which would have imposed major restrictions on the industry, as well as an $1.10 per pack price hike over five years.

The industry, which initially championed national legislation, quickly turned against it in April, after a Senate committee fashioned a bill with the huge price hike and almost none of the legal protections the industry sought.

Public Citizen said it culled its information from public lobbying reports filed with Congress by six major tobacco companies, three tobacco trade groups and outside lobbying firms they employed.

According to the group's report, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., which spent $1.7 million in the first half of 1997, spent $18.2 million in the same period this year, topping the other major tobacco companies, including Philip Morris Companies Inc. and R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

© 1998 The Washington Post Co

Burned Wires Found in Swissair Jet's Game System

Don Phillips

INVESTIGATORS discovered evidence of fire and electrical damage in the wiring of Swissair Flight 111's in-flight entertainment and gambling system, prompting the airline last week to disconnect it on its other planes.

Sources close to the probe of the September 2 crash said all the insulation was burned off three of the four sets of wires coming from the sophisticated system, located above and behind the cockpit, and there was clear evidence of electrical arcing, or sparks. A preliminary investigation has raised concerns about the amount of heat that the cutting-edge electronics produces, as well as the manner in which it was connected to the aircraft's main electrical power, the sources said.

Swissair and the Transportation Safety Board of Canada said in brief statements that there is insufficient evidence so far to determine whether the wiring played a role in the New York-Geneva flight's plunge into the Atlantic Ocean, killing all 229 onboard. The Canadian board said it is possible the damage was "merely the by-product of other events".

Although the Canadian safety board said this particular system was "unique to the Swissair fleet," sources said investigators and regulators want to take a new look at onboard video and gaming systems that some airlines are installing on long-distance jets to woo customers.

The burned wiring was found among debris dredged from the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean just off Peggy's Cove, Nova Scotia. The McDonnell Douglas MD-11 slammed into the ocean about 16 minutes after the crew reported smoke in the cockpit and donned oxygen masks.

Crackdown Raises Human Rights Fears

Lee Hockstader in Gaza City

SINCE Israel and the Palestinians signed an interim peace accord in Washington last month, Palestinian police have detained journalists, imprisoned an Islamic cleric who dared criticize the accord and launched a wave of arrests of suspected Islamic activists.

Under the terms of the land-for-security agreement, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat pledged to crack down on both terrorist groups operating from areas controlled by the Palestinians, and on anti-Israeli incitement on their airwaves. Those moves were demanded by the Israelis, backed by President Clinton and, finally, accepted by Arafat.

In practice, though, it's not so simple — and could make a bad human rights record in Palestinian-controlled areas much worse, say human rights groups here and in the West. They argue the accord, coupled with pressure from Washington and Israel, could promote a Palestinian police state in Israel's back yard.

"What's happened in the last five years under the slogan of peace? The first victim was human rights," said Raji Sourani, head of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights in Gaza. "Security for us has meant waves of arrests, state security courts, restrictions on free speech and a lack of respect for the law."

The implications of a Palestinian crackdown on terror and incitement may give rise to more ticklish questions for the United States than the text of the peace accord suggests.

In encouraging the Palestinians to wage war on terror, should the Clinton administration support the swift but often brutal justice of Palestinian state security courts, which specialize in summary trials, often starting after midnight, with no right to counsel? Should it speak out against Palestinian detention of terror suspects who are imprisoned for months or years without charges or trials? Should it raise the issue of torture in Palestinian prisons, where 20 detainees have died in recent years?

The dilemma for Washington is even more problematic now that the United States has established itself, under the terms of the new accord, as a kind of super-referee to enforce what Israel expects of the Palestinians and vice versa.

"The Palestinian Authority's human rights record is already deplorable," said Hanny Megally, Middle East division director for Human Rights Watch in Washington. "The U.S. doesn't condemn these violations now. Will the U.S. condemn violations once it is part of the process that creates them?"

Sourani, the Palestinian human rights activist, said dozens of Palestinians are currently held under administrative detention, facing neither charges nor trials for months and years at a time.

Many, perhaps most, of the detainees are Islamic fundamentalists, who in addition to forming the core of groups that carry out terror attacks against Israel also constitute Arafat's most serious political opposition. Many of those languishing in Palestinian prisons may well be terrorists. Others seem to be murkier cases, whose arrests resemble a crackdown on Arafat's political opposition more than on extremist violence.

To human rights groups, some of the Palestinian arrests seem arbitrary and counterproductive.

"If you arrest someone and jail him for years without trial and charges, do you think this is a good way to fight terror?" said Bassem Eid, director of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group. "It's the opposite. The more Hamas is harassed, the more they will seek revenge against Israelis because they think Israeli pressure is trying to open an internal conflict in Palestinian society."

None of this troubles Israel much. The late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, who was assassinated by a right-wing Israeli Jew in 1995, argued that Palestinians were well suited to wage war on terrorists because, unlike Israel, they were not burdened by independent judges and quarrelsome human rights activists.

Similarly, the current prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, appears unworried about what Palestinians do to each other; what concerns him is the violence some of them carry out against Israelis.

Nor has the United States turned a spotlight on Palestinian human rights abuses. Shortly after the state security courts were initiated in 1995, they were hailed by Vice President Gore, who was visiting the newly autonomous Palestinian-controlled territory on the West Bank.

"As long as people are living between the Israeli hammer and the Palestinian Authority anvil I don't believe anyone is going to succeed in fighting violence," said Eid, the rights activist.



John Glenn, back right, waves as the Discovery crew heads for the launch pad PHOTOGRAPH: DOUG MILLS

Glenn Returns to Space After 36-Year Gap

Kathy Sawyer in Cape Canaveral

JOHN GLENN, the first American to orbit the Earth, blasted off last week with six crewmates aboard the shuttle Discovery, fulfilling a lifelong yearning and earning another place in history by becoming the oldest man to travel in space.

Glenn's spaceship, with 20 times the thrust and 70 times the working room of his first, took off from a launch pad at the Kennedy Space Center thundering into a cloudless Florida sky. Although a loose door panel flew off and hit an engine valve during lift-off, officials said the incident presented no dangers and the launch was otherwise flawless.

As President Clinton watched from the roof of the launch control center about 3.5 miles away with the astronauts' families, Mercury astronaut Scott Carpenter, on the shuttle communications loop, intoned the same words he had spoken spontaneously 36 years ago near the same spot: "Godspeed, John Glenn."

While some critics have dismissed the flight as a publicity stunt of limited scientific value, Glenn's odyssey attracted some 3,000 journalists and enormous public interest. Hundreds of thousands of spectators jammed causeways, roads and beaches to witness the lift-off, which was carried live by almost every television and cable network.

All this hubbub came to a focus at T-minus-zero, when the 4.5 million pound shuttle responded to the sudden thrust of 7-million pounds and thundered up and eastward, the white heat of its churning main engines still visible as a bright daytime star for several minutes, until it hurtled out of sight about 70 miles down range and 43 miles high.

The countdown had twice been delayed, for a total of 20 nerve-wracking minutes, first by a minor technical glitch and then to shoo off some errant airplanes that intruded into the 600 square miles of cleared air space around the launch complex.

Another cause for tension came later. In replays of the launch on high-definition TV, flight controllers determined that a panel had flipped loose from the orbiter's tail at the moment the powerful main engines were started, dinging the center main engine valve. Launch manager Donald R. McMonagle said the team will do a thorough analysis but "at this point we know of no impact to the mission."

Eight and a half minutes after lift-off, the space travelers reached the magic moment of "MECO" — main engine cutoff. The world of the shuttle cabin went silent, the sky had gone black, the apricot tank had fallen away, and they settled into orbit at a velocity of about 18,000 miles per hour. And they were weightless. Back in orbit, Glenn soon let go the straps and floated out of his seat — back in orbit after 36 years.

Discovery commander USAF Lt. Col Curt Brown Jr. and co-pilot USAF Lt. Col. Steven W. Lindsey maneuvered their winged craft into an orbit about 340 miles high — three times as high as Glenn's first flight.

The nine-day, $400 million mission, the 92nd flight of the shuttle program, carries an international crew in pursuit of an unusually wide variety of research goals. In these respects, NASA says, the flight foreshadows a "new era" for human spaceflight. This phase is to begin in less than a month when a Russian Proton rocket lifts off carrying the first component of the planned, U.S.-led international space station, a million-ton research laboratory to be constructed in space by spacewalking astronauts over a five-year period.

While the public focus to date has been on Glenn's research on aging and the effects of weightlessness, Discovery carries more than 80 experiments and 11 tons of cargo that, officials say, span the realm from the inner universe of the human body to studies of the sun.

Pinochet Arrest Deepens Rift in Chile

Anthony Faiola in Santiago

SOLA SIERRA, who last saw her husband alive in December 1976, when he was hauled away by then-president Augusto Pinochet's secret police, felt oddly invigorated after hearing news of Pinochet's victory in a London court room last week.

"This only mobilizes our fight even more," Sierra, 71, president of the Chilean Association for the Disappeared, said of the court's decision that British authorities did not have the right to arrest Pinochet. The former president was taken into custody in London last month at the request of a Spanish judge seeking his extradition to stand trial for killings, torture and kidnappings of his political opponents during his rule.

"Even if he comes back, we have gained from this," Sierra said. "We have proven that Pinochet isn't untouchable, and that can only further our fight."

Cristian Labbe Galilea, a former Pinochet cabinet minister and now the powerful mayor of a wealthy Santiago suburb, was equally as energized. "I don't think the right has ever been more united politically, and it's because of this nightmare in London," said Labbe. "This has only strengthened us."

The drama of Pinochet's arrest won't end when — as most people here expect — he is whisked back to Santiago on a Chilean military jet that has been readied for the journey.

Politicians and political experts here say the incident has profoundly shaken and polarized Chile to a point not seen since before its transition to democracy in 1990, when Pinochet relinquished the presidency after 17 years in power.

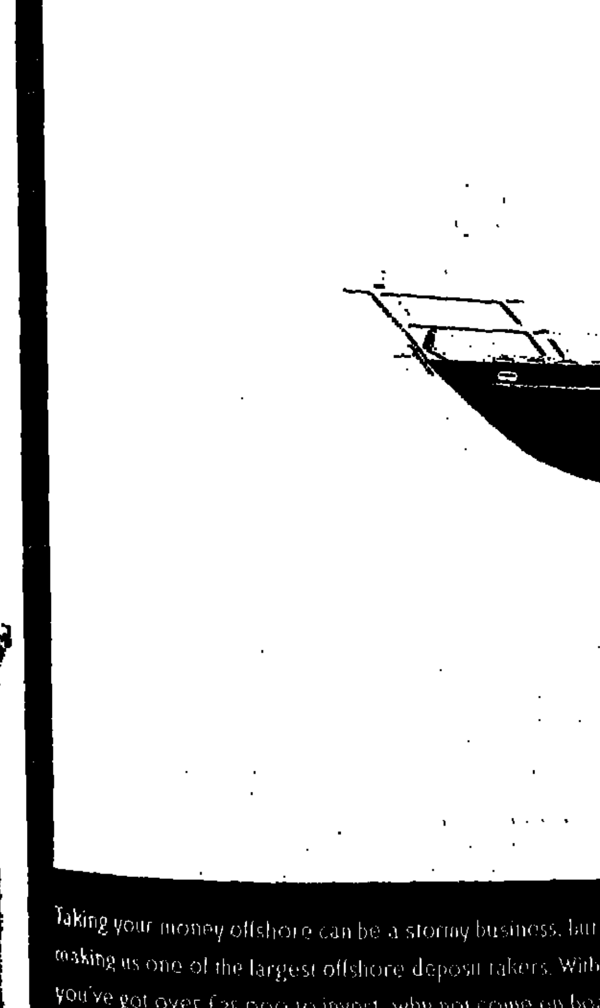
On both left and right, there is a sense of growing political radicalism. If Pinochet returns here, he will face an emboldened opposition that is pressing the government to disclose the details of the "secret amnesty" that was granted to Pinochet in 1990. Meanwhile, senators are gathering names on a petition to try to force the government of President Eduardo Frei to hold a referendum on amnesty laws that protect Pinochet and the military from being investigated in connection with the killing or disappearance of 3,000 dissidents during his rule. But he will also find a right wing, now fractured into two political parties, more united than ever in his name.

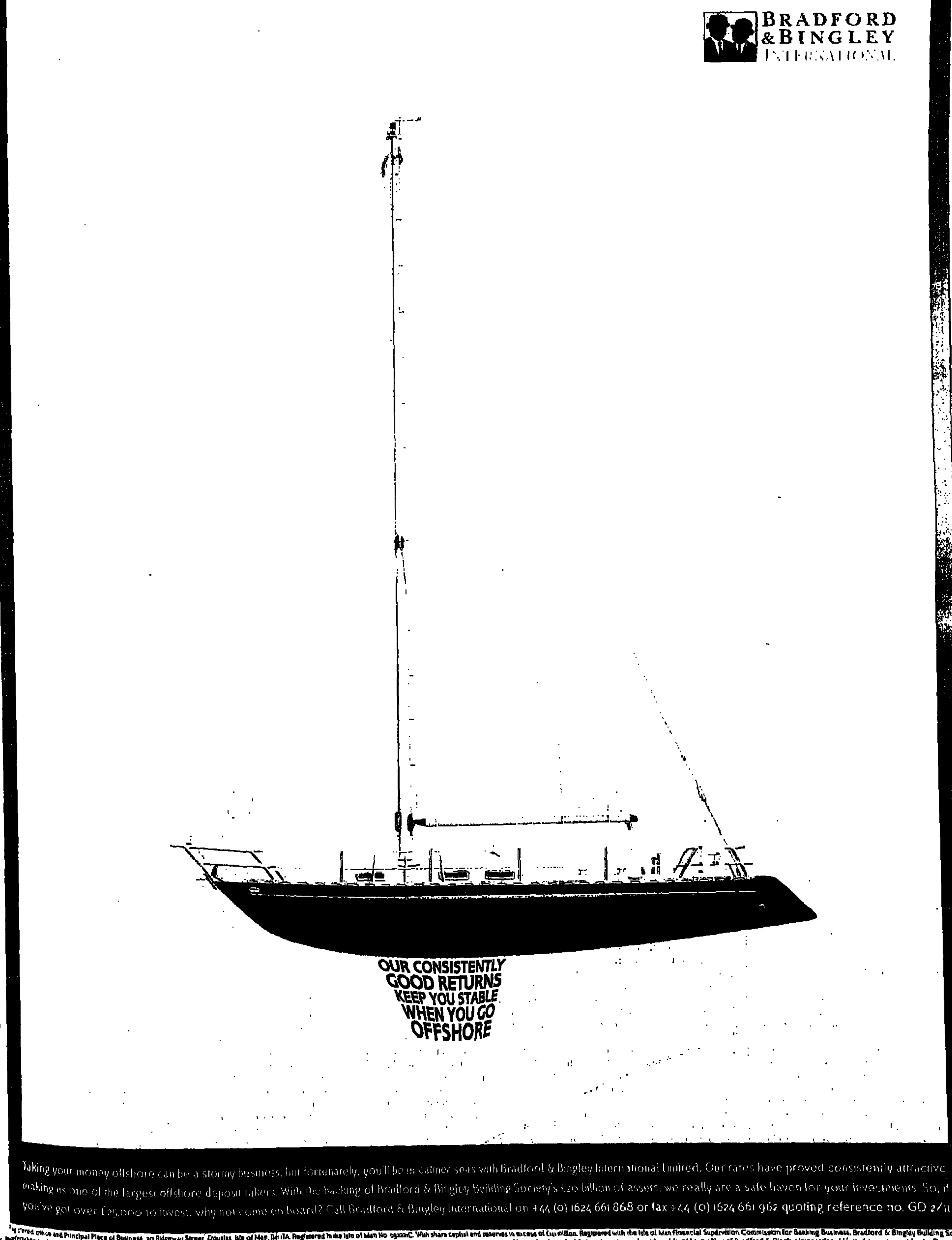
Chile has been so unsettled by the arrest, political experts say, that it will bear heavily on the 1999 presidential elections. "I think we Chileans built a sort of protective barrier in relation to our past which has suddenly blown up in our face. We've discovered that the transition to democracy hasn't worked, and that we remain just as divided as we were before Pinochet stepped down," said Ricardo Israel, director of the Institute for Political Science at the University of Chile.

In recent days thousands of Chileans have gone into the streets — on one side Pinochet's right-wing supporters, on the other his left-wing opponents. Demonstrations have often turned violent as police used tear gas and water cannons to disperse the crowds.

The decision of President Frei, who heads the ruling center-left coalition, to call for Pinochet's release is threatening to rupture his political alliance. Many senators and deputies in Frei's coalition government had called on him to let justice take its course, and are furious with his decision to back the former dictator.

© 1998 The Washington Post Co.





In the Fields of the Lord

Jane Smiley

THE POISONWOOD BIBLE
By Barbara Kingsolver
HarperFlamingo. 542pp. $26



ILLUSTRATION: CATHIE BLECK

THERE are ambitious novels. And there are successful novels. And there are beautiful novels. But there are few ambitious, successful and beautiful novels. Lucky for us, we have one now, in Barbara Kingsolver's The Poisonwood Bible, the visionary saga of Nathan Price, renegade Baptist missionary, and his wife and four daughters in the Belgian Congo in the early 1960s.

This awed reviewer hardly knows where to begin. A novel, of course, is always linear, always has a beginning and an end, but this one is so complete and so vast that it leaves a single complex impression, difficult to pick apart and analyze. The reader finishes the novel with the conviction that it may be fiction, but it is deeply true, a right way of looking at many things — imperialism, colonialism, family life under great stress, a certain type of American religion, and two worlds in collision — African village life and American fundamentalism.

Kingsolver's most inspired novelistic invention is the way she tells the story: most of it through the distinct voices of the four daughters, Rachel, 16, the twins Leah and Adah, 14 and a half, and Ruth May, 5. Each section of the novel is introduced by the voice of Orleanna, the mother. Her recognition of her complicity in the cruelties that American policy and her preacher husband have visited upon their children and upon Africa is also convincing, though less lively than the voices of the daughters. Everything about this novel looks slow, dark and depressing from the outside, but don't let that fool you. The voices of the girls bring delight to every page.

Kingsolver's novel calls into question the whole history of the European and American exploitation of Africa. Kingsolver brings a distinct ideological point of view to her work and is open about her sympathies. She recognises that when the missionaries and explorers and developers and health workers looked at Africa and saw ignorance, the ignorance they saw was their own. Africans are well adapted to conditions that people from temperate climates still do not fully understand.

It is no coincidence that Nathan, unlike the women, is never allowed to speak for himself. The daughters infer what might be going on with him. Orleanna, who has more information, gives his history: When she first meets and marries him, he is a charming, well-meaning, benevolent, Bible-toting preacher in the making. After their marriage, Nathan goes to the Pacific as a soldier in the Second World War. He alone survives a death march that wipes out the rest of his company. He is wounded physically and spiritually, and returns home convinced of his sin and cowardice, ready to root out these same things from everyone he meets.

Orleanna understands at once that love between herself and such a man is not possible anymore, but she continues anyway. This history is more or less convincing, but by the time the reader meets Nathan, he is one-dimensional; he is never allowed to speak, as the girls and their mother do so beautifully.

And yet Nathan's enigmatic one-sidedness reflects our culture's failure to understand the humanity of those who seem to be the source of evil. Nathan goes unloved — by his daughters, his wife, himself, his "congregation," his God and his author. As a character, he never comes alive. He is a cause and an effect, but never a man. The author loses interest in Nathan, tries to compensate by giving him a dramatic death that seems pale in the telling. This failure goes right to the heart of who we are as a culture and how we look at ourselves: Yes, there are those who hurt others and show no remorse, who do not acknowledge the damage they have done. But they, in the end, are us. They should be acknowledged, allowed to say who they are, recognized. Loved, even, if not by readers and citizens, then at least by their own creators.

And so, the good news is that Barbara Kingsolver has written a wonderful novel, but not a perfect one. We can be thankful that she must write another, just to try again.

Camelot Nights

Bob Sherrill

RFK: A CANDID BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY
By C. David Heymann
Dutton. 596pp. $27.95

IF PRESIDENT Clinton wants to make his lustful conduct seem comparatively trivial, he should see that this book is placed in the hands of every member of Congress and every member of the Washington press corps.

Extramarital sex pops up 32 times in RFK, by my conservative count, and that doesn't include the 25-page chapter appropriately titled "Sex" in the center of the book. Obviously, C. David Heymann is determined to convince us he isn't exaggerating when he says John Kennedy had "an insatiable hunger for debauchery," heightened by feel-good drugs, and that brother Bobby became "as sexually insatiable as Jack had been."

Movie stars by the dozen, 15-year-old nymphets, socialites, in-laws — the brothers were catholic in their passion. Lawns, closets, airplanes, sailboats, the White House, the family's suite at the Carlyle Hotel — any old place would do just fine. Or so say the people Heymann quotes, usually by name.

In at least one area, this conduct seriously hurt public policy. When Robert Kennedy became attorney general in 1961, civil rights leaders needed all the help they could get from the Justice Department. But instead of helping Martin Luther King Jr., Bobby wiretapped him. This was to please "the most dangerous man in America," FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who hated King and wanted to ruin his reputation. Hoover had "a stranglehold" on the Kennedy brothers, says Heymann, because they feared he would reveal what he knew of their private lives, which was plenty. Later, Heymann alleges, Robert fell deeper into Hoover's clutches by asking him to cover up details of Jack Kennedy's affair with Ellen Rometsch, a suspected spy for East Germany.

A cover-up of a crueler sort allegedly occurred on the other coast. If we can believe actor and Kennedy brother-in-law Peter Lawford — and we have only his word for this — Robert set up Marilyn Monroe for murder by drugs because she was threatening to publicize her long-term affairs with both brothers.

This is a solid biography, although Heymann — previously the biographer of Jackie Kennedy Onassis, Barbara Hutton and Elizabeth Taylor — doubtless means for it to be a teaser, too. Hollywood, the jacket tells us, has already signed on.

Reading Heymann's interpretations of Robert's influence on the president, one can't help feeling it was disastrous. Robert was too fierce a protector of his brother's political reputation, and his early career was "characterized by one savage vendetta after another." As old Joe Kennedy boasted, "When Bobby hates you, you stay hated." He hated Castro for embarrassing his brother at the Bay of Pigs, which stirred RFK to nutty, grandiose delusions of revenge. Usually his rages had awful results.

FRANKLIN D. Roosevelt Jr. who did some dirty work for John Kennedy in the 1960 campaign, said, "I did it because of Bobby. Only in his mid-thirties he was already a full-blown tyrant."

But by the time of his presidential run, says Heymann, Bobby had become such a thoughtful guy that some of the reporters covering him, having fallen under his spell, asked to be taken off the assignment because they were so biased in his favor.

Perhaps RFK transformed himself in the process of building the august "Kennedy legend" that disguises the not-so-altruistic reality of his brother's administration.

For me, the RFK in these pages had two great virtues: He was very brave; though convinced an assassin waited somewhere, he kept plunging into the crowds. And he was indispensable at home — where the children (10 while he lived), all sorts of animals, and helter-skelter wife Ethel gave the place, says Heymann, "all the decorum of a nonstop carnival-cum-insane asylum." Bobby loved it, made it a fun place, and held it together. When he died, it pretty much fell apart.

Politics in the Bedroom

Debra Dickerson

BY THE LIGHT OF MY FATHER'S SMILE
By Alice Walker
Random House. 222pp. $22.95

IF YOU think about it, Alice Walker and Khalid Muhammad, organizer of Harlem's recent Million Youth March, are flip sides of the same coin: Oppression has driven them both to obsession, and both have made careers of an implacable rebellion. While both have loyal followings, those who are not feeding from the trough of resentment will require more than Muhammad's unhinged doggerel or Walker's symbol-soaked indictments to go the distance with either. In the case of a novel, that something more is a coherent plot with convincing characters. By the Light Of My Father's Smile is frustratingly low on both.

Muhammad and his ilk are a manifestation of incoherent rage, Walker and hers its coherent cousin. But however righteous Walker's political philosophy, a novel has to be first and foremost a work of art. It has to satisfy the soul first, to even the score second. It can also be good politics, but it is insufficient to simply extend the litany of injustices to book length, then devise snappy comebacks, as Walker has done here. I agree with her politics, but that's not why I read novels. That's why I read the Nation. I come looking for soul food in Walker's novel and find only the politics of cooking.

Drawing on the travails of the fictional Robinson family and their acquaintances, Walker illustrates the breadth of taboos involving female sexuality and the extent to which the cost of criminalizing that sexuality isn't confined to the individual woman; in this case, it ruins an entire family. Susannah — the seemingly obedient younger sister who retains her freedom by not bothering to flaunt it — watches through the keyhole while 15-year-old June (the girl-child-who-runs-with-the-wolves) is beaten by their craven father for the crime of having inherited his love of boot-knocking (sex). To avenge herself, June destroys the family's happiness, as well as her own. She also chooses to become obese and de-sexes herself with body piercings and other self-inflicted hideousnesses. It's like a job with her, this tending of her own featureless misery. "Fatness serves a purpose," explains June calmly.

"When I am fat I feel powerful, as if I could not possibly need anything more." Except, perhaps, a bypass operation because she dies with a beer in one hand, a hunk of chocolate cake in the other (things go much better for her after she's dead). June couldn't be less believable; even worse, she couldn't be less commiserable. Middle-aged, having ripped her family to shreds but still not satiated, June shrieks, "I wanted reparation . . . not apology . . . He'd taken the moment in my life when I was most secure in its meaning. The moment my life opened, not just to my family and friends, but to me myself. The moment when I knew my life was given to me for me to own." One 30-year-old beating (for which Dad never forgave himself) ruined her life? Of course, you're meant to contrast the sisters' strategies for coping with societal expectations for women, you're meant to consider the long-term effects of the delegitimization of women's sexuality, but Geez, girl, it ain't that bad.

The problem here is that there are no people, only political vehicles sprinkled with magic and dead men walking. By The Light's ostentatious use of allegory, myth and fairy tale made me so suspicious that I turned to the acknowledgements, where I found confirmation of my fears: The Woman's Encyclopedia Of Myths And Secrets; Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies And Their Journey; Bonobo: The Forgotten Ape. Uh oh. Someone needs to take Alice's library card away because it takes a post-doc in pop psychology to love this book.

Her highly stylized, ultimately disposable characters are far too self-aware and, therefore, not human. Granted, the main characters spend more time dead than alive, but they still have to matter to the reader. These don't. They can't. They're not real. Worst of all, the "have nots" in the world Walker has created spew a free-floating venom on whites and Western civilization that brings to mind pubescents slandering the prom queen with the humongous breasts and the red convertible. Europeans "don't seem to like the earth very much. . . [maybe they're from] another planet . . . A place where the artificial is natural," opines the oh-so highly evolved Susannah. It's not the criticism that's objectionable per se, its the heavy-handed artlessness, the nyah nyah-ness.

Whites, men, the rich and Western civilization are legitimate targets for writers, but the answer is not to emulate what's worst about them but to pin them to the wall of truth and shine a big bright light on their crimes. The self-indulgent way to do that is by being a clownish thug like Khalid Muhammad; the life-producing way is by writing a novel and not a manifesto.

Defections to Anglican schools are dubbed a cave-in to secularism, reports **Madeleine Bunting**

Catholic tastes

THE headmaster of Ampleforth College, Britain's most prestigious Catholic school, has delivered an extraordinary attack on parents who choose not to send their children to Catholic schools, and has scathingly dismissed the religious ethos of many Anglican public schools.

Fr Leo Chamberlain accuses Catholic parents of a "shallow, sentimental approach to the Church" and attributes their lack of loyalty to "the impact of the secularising forces in our society". He claims that religious ideals are vanishing from many Anglican schools just as increasing numbers of Catholics are attending them.

"In many non-Catholic schools, day or boarding, religion is a marginal event. Rare is the Anglican school which has all its pupils in chapel on a Sunday," writes Fr Leo in the Catholic weekly, the Tablet.

His article was seen as a coded attack on wealthy Catholics who choose to send their children to high-profile public schools such as Eton and Harrow. Ampleforth's numbers have fallen from more than 600 to 487 over 20 years.

One in three private Catholic schools has closed in the past 15 years. Numbers now stand at 178.

The Benedictine Order's schools in Britain — of which Ampleforth is the most prominent — have been badly hit by falling rolls; Belmont in Herefordshire closed in 1994, and Douai near Newbury was narrowly saved from closure last summer by the generosity of a former pupil.

The BBC News presenter Ed Stourton, who went to Ampleforth, admits he is sending his son to Eton. "The choice was pretty simple," he says. "It's a matter of distance. When I was at Ampleforth, you accepted that you were put away for eight weeks, but I wanted to see more of my son.

"Eton is not the same as the monks, but he is living in a Christian school and there's a Catholic chaplain. What tipped the balance was the importance of keeping the family together . . . Catholics no longer see themselves as set apart, and that's good."

In the same issue of the Tablet, Fr David Forrester, Eton's Catholic chaplain, defends the college's religious ethos and the special provision for its many Catholic pupils, describing their participation as an example of "living ecumenism".

The decline of private Catholic schools is marked, given that the same period has seen steady growth in non-Catholic private schools.

In part, it reflects how Catholics have broken out of the ghetto culture that used to characterise it in Britain. Catholics rarely experience discrimination or the prejudice that was commonplace even 30 years ago. It also reflects growing ecumenism; the emphasis is on a Christian rather than Catholic education.

The decline in vocations in religious orders has also led to many closures, Margaret Smart, director of the Catholic Education Service, points out.

Ampleforth struggles with a particular disadvantage in that its main catchment area — London and the South — is several hours' drive away.

One former Ampleforth pupil cited this and the all-male environment as his reasons for sending his own son to St Paul's. He regrets his son will lose out on the spiritual aspect. "The religious ethos of Ampleforth was very distinctive. There was the example of monks with a great spirituality living the monastic life, and I believe their ideals have great relevance to modern life."

But one prospective parent who recently visited Ampleforth came away horrified. "The monks are so detached, and there is little sense of warmth and belonging in the school," he said.

"There's a lot of talk about results and connections in a worldly sense as being very important, but they offered little on the day-to-day working out of how to be a Catholic. The headmaster was very distant. My wife's comment after meeting him was: 'That's why the Reformation happened — he was just sitting there pontificating and was very pleased with himself and the school'."

Ampleforth has refused to accept girls, unlike its rival Stonyhurst which goes full co-educational next year. That, along with its isolation — it is 30km from York on the edge of the moors — and the stability of the monastic community, appeals to some parents, but appals others who are looking for something more integrated into the realities of the lives the boys are likely to lead.

Ampleforth's headmaster, Fr Leo Chamberlain, greeting Irish president Mary McAleese PHOTO JOAN RUSSELL

"a totally different way of learning"



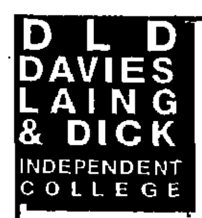
Brockwood Park School
Set in 30 acres of beautiful Hampshire countryside in England, Brockwood Park School:
• *Is* a vibrant educational community of 100 students and staff, from over 20 different countries, living and studying together
• *has* an average class size of 6 students, personalised study programmes, international GCSEs and A Levels, and is fully co-educational for 14 to 19 year olds
• *offers* a friendly, co-operative atmosphere with special attention given to pastoral care and the students' individual needs
• *provides* an holistic education which values enquiry, responsibility and affection, as it does academic excellence and key skills
• *demands* the very best from all who live and study there.
Interested? Call: ++44 (01962) 771744 *fax:* ++44 (01962) 771875
Brockwood Park School, Bramdean, Hants, SO24 0LQ, UK
e-mail: admin@brockwood1.win-uk.net
Internet: http://www.brockwood.org.uk/
Founded in 1969 by J. Krishnamurti — *Registered Charity No. 307300*

OPEN DAY
Saturday 14th November 10.00am - 12 Noon
• EXCELLENT EXAM RESULTS
• TECHNOLOGY COLLEGE STATUS FOR MATHS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
• FREE TUITION - ONLY PAY FOR BOARDING
• BOARDING ADMISSION AT 11, 12, 13 AND 16
• THE ONLY SPECIALIST COLLEGE WITH PRIORITY ADMISSION IN MUSIC AND SPORT
For further details contact Sandra Kerridge, Wymondham College, Wymondham, Norfolk, NR18 9SZ.
Tel: (01953) 609014,
Fax: (01953) 603313.
A Tradition of Excellence / In a Future of Achievement
TECHNOLOGY COLLEGES — ENGLISH SPORTS COUNCIL Sportsmark Gold Award
WYMONDHAM COLLEGE
A GRANT MAINTAINED SCHOOL PROVIDING QUALITY EDUCATION

Boarding and Day School for Girls aged 5-16
THORNTON COLLEGE
Convent of Jesus and Mary
• excellent academic record
• caring and supportive school where each child is valued as an individual
• superb sports and academic facilities
• EFL courses and tuition available
For further information please contact the Registrar on:
Tel: +44 (0)1280 812610 Fax: +44 (0)1280 824042
Thornton College, Convent of Jesus and Mary, Thornton, Nr. Buckingham, MK17 0HJ.
Reg. Charity number 247358

Kingham Hill School
Boys & Girls Boarding & Day 11-18
Kingham Hill is a thriving independent boarding and day school for 230 pupils set in a tranquil ninety acre parkland site in the heart of the Cotswolds. Parents choose Kingham Hill because within a supportive, confidence building, environment our small classes and extensive extra-curricular activities encourage each individual to fulfil his or her potential.
90 acre parkland site
small classes high expectations
90% boarding
For details +44 (0)1608 658999
www.kingdom-hill.oxon.sch.uk
Kingham Hill exists to provide a quality education in a Christian environment Reg Charity No. 310031
Caring Cotswolds learning environment

St CHRISTOPHER
A BRITISH SCHOOL WHICH ENCOURAGES INDIVIDUAL FULFILMENT
We find that many children (and parents) with an international background take quickly to St Christopher with our informal and purposeful approach which recognizes each girl and boy as an individual and helps them adjust to our system.
The School has been co-educational and vegetarian since 1915. Our boarding houses are homely with meals taken in the house. Our many 6th Formers have student style rooms.
A full and challenging curriculum leads to 19 courses at A level with equal emphasis on arts and science. There are exceptional opportunities for creative, technical and extra curricular activities which we see as central in developing children's self-confidence and ability to express themselves.
Entry for boarders from age 8 upwards with all the advantages of continuity for the remainder of a child's schooling.
Main entry at ages 9, 11, 13 and 16
For more details, contact Susan Mellor, Admissions Secretary
St Christopher School, Letchworth, Herts SG6 3JZ
Tel: 01462 679301 Fax: 01462 481578
stchris.admin@rmplc.co.uk
1 mile from A1 (M), 35 minutes from Kings Cross
The School is an Educational Charity which aims to treat all children as individuals and to develop their proper self-confidence.



1999 SIXTH FORM ENTRY
A LEVEL - 1 & 2 YEAR COURSES
SPECIALIST ADVICE FOR:
Medicine, Dentistry Veterinary Science and Oxbridge Entrance.
WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS
Film Making, Drama, Sport, Photography
FRIENDLY, SUPPORTIVE & ADULT ENVIRONMENT
0171 727 2797
10 Pembridge Square
London W2 4ED
www.dld.org
email.dld.org



DEAN CLOSE SCHOOL
DEAN CLOSE JUNIOR SCHOOL

CHELTENHAM

I.A.P.S 2½ - 13 H.M.C. 13 -18

Co-educational boarding and day.

Family atmosphere - individual care.

Generous scholarships and bursaries.

Christian commitment

Excellent academic results.

Spacious grounds.

Superb teaching and sporting facilities.

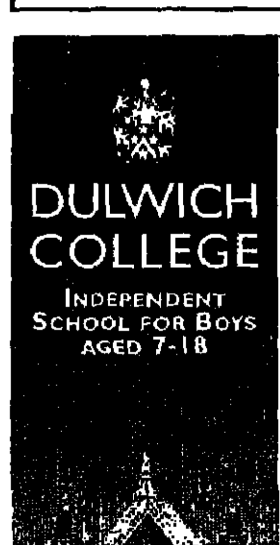
Established Pre-preparatory School.

Strong links with the Services.

For further details, or to arrange a visit, please contact:

The Headmaster	The Headmaster
Dean Close Junior School	Dean Close School
Cheltenham	Cheltenham
Glos. GL51 6QS	Glos. GL51 6HE

Tel: +44 (0) 1242 522640
email: dean@epinet.co.uk



- Excellent academic record. 30 places at Oxford and Cambridge in 1998.
- Scholarships (academic, music and art) and bursaries available.
- Wide range of sporting, music, drama and extra curricular activities.
- Full and weekly boarding offers maximum flexibility in case of relocation. 90 boarders (age 10 to 18) accommodated in three well-equipped boarding houses.
- Attractive location in 60 acres, with some of the best school facilities in London.
- Easy access to airports and main line London stations.

For a prospectus or further information apply to: The Registrar, Dulwich College, London SE21 7LD. Telephone and Fax 0181 299 9263. E-mail: the.registrar@dulwich.co.uk Charity No: 312755



Looking for a change at 16?

St. Clare's provides a refreshing alternative.

- Informal but challenging atmosphere
- Small classes - staff : student ratio c.1:7
- Broadly based curriculum - The International Baccalaureate
- Over 95% of our students go on to university
- Unique Oxford backdrop

Why not call us, to find out more?

Contact Alison McLachlan, Admissions Director
St. Clare's, Oxford, 139 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7AL
Tel: +44 1865 552031 Fax: +44 1865 513359
email: admissions@stclares.ac.uk www.stclares.ac.uk

St. Clare's, Oxford is a registered charity with the aim of promoting education



makes home learning fun!

"Welcome to EDUKID" introductory packs

"Christmas is Fun" activities for primary years.

Please contact us with the ages of your children.

3 Godstone Road, Old Oxted RH8 9JS UK

Fax: +44 1883 716634 E-Mail: edukid@dial.pipex.com



The International School of Paris

"Where the world goes to school"

The only English-language school within the city of Paris with Primary, Middle and High School sections. Situated near Trocadero, very close to embassies and international companies.

Our classes are small. IGCSE and the International Baccalaureate (I.B.) Diploma. Excellent results. Varied roster of after-school activities and a Saturday morning sports program.

Contact: Gareth Jones, Headmaster The International School of Paris
6, rue Beethoven, 75016 Paris Tel: (+33) 01 42 24 09 54 Fax: (+33) 01 45 27 15 93



To place an advertisement

Tel: +44 (0) 161 908 3810

or

Fax: +44 (0) 161 839 4436

email:weeklyads@guardian.co.uk

Department of English and Southern Arts

Post-colonial Writing Fellowship

We are looking for an active writer with a South Asian, African or Caribbean background, and a good record of publication in English. You will be asked to teach a class in creative writing and to offer intellectual support for post-colonial studies. For further information contact Dr Sujala Singh on (01703) 593413.

Salary on Research Grade A, point 4: £15,735 per annum pro rata. The post is available on a fixed term contract from 1 February 1999 until 30 June 1999.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Department (A), University of Southampton, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BJ, telephone: (01703) 592750, email: recruit@soton.ac.uk or minicom: (01703) 595595. Applications, which should be accompanied by a full CV (7 copies from UK applicants and 1 from overseas), should be returned no later than 26 November 1998. Please quote reference number A/179.

Working for equal opportunities



University of Southampton



TEMPLE GROVE

Heron's Ghyll Nr.Uckfield
East Sussex TN22 4DA
Est. 1810

Headmistress Jenny Lee B.A.Cert.Ed.
IAPS Co-Educational Preparatory School
Day 3-13 Boarding 8-13
Personal care and attention for your child.
A first class Education in a stimulating and beautiful environment.

For details Phone or Fax direct.
Tel: 01825 712112 Fax: 01825 713432

"SCHOOL SEARCH"

is a professional agency which specialises in finding the right school for your child either in the UK or overseas. We can also assist with advice on Summer & Easter schools.

For further information please contact: **"School Search"**,
Veranda, Holy Well Road, Malvern Wells, Worcestershire. WR14 4LF

Tel: UK +44 (0)1684 566347
Fax: UK +44 (0)1684 577559

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL HEALTH STUDIES

Senior Lecturer

£28,674 - £32,782

CIHS supports international health systems development through education & training, consultancy and research, with funding from a range of donor (e.g. DFID, World Bank, African Development Bank) and NGO (e.g. MSF-Holland, Oxfam, MSD) sources. The orientation of CIHS is explicitly multi-disciplinary, with particular emphasis on the perspectives of social and organisational development.

A Senior Lecturer is required to support and shape the further development of CIHS as a respected academic centre in the field of international health. Applicants should have a significant record of achievement in at least two and preferably all, of the following areas: funded research and publication; international health consultancy; provision of education & training at Masters level.

Potential applicants are encouraged to contact the Director, Professor Alastair Ager, for informal discussion on +44 (0) 131 317 3491 or a.ager@mail.qmced.ac.uk. Further particulars and an application form can be obtained from Human Resources, Queen Margaret College, Clerwood Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 8TS (+44 (0)131 317 3291 - 24 hours) quoting Reference No. CIHS2/98/6.

Completed application forms should be returned by **Friday 20 November 1998.**

Queen Margaret College
EDINBURGH established 1875



FULNECK SCHOOL

Leeds, West Yorkshire LS28 8DS

Independent School (1753) of Christian foundation for children aged 3 to 18 offering:

- A disciplined working environment with small classes in a beautiful semi-rural setting
- Well resourced teaching by well qualified staff helping pupils achieve high academic results
- The advantages of single sex teaching groups at ages 11 to 16 within a co-educational system
- EFL provision

Telephone: 0113 2570235
Fax: 0113 2557316

http://users.aol.com/fulneck/fulneck.htm

Fulneck School was founded to provide an independent education for children under the auspices of the Moravian Church No 251211

IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & MEDICINE

Medical Statistician

A vacancy exists for a qualified Medical Statistician to work in an active clinical and research department. The principal responsibility will be statistical support investigating the health effects of a change in transport policy in Oxford. Applicants must have a *first* degree in Mathematics, Statistics or a related subject and ideally an MSc in Medical Statistics. Practical experience with SAS or Stata is essential.

The starting salary will be in the range £17,869 - £22,241 incl. The position is available for one year in the first instance. To apply please send a CV with the names and addresses of two referees, who may be contacted, to the Personnel Office, Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine, Dovehouse Street, London SW3 6LY quoting reference OEM/522. Closing date 21st November.

DENSTONE COLLEGE

Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. ST14 5HN
Telephone: 01889 590484
Fax: 01889 590091

An HMC Woodard School, co-educational boarding and day. 300 pupils, 100 in the Sixth Form. With an impressive range of activities and facilities.

A variety of Scholarships offered

A caring and highly successful school in a safe rural environment



A Woodward School. Registered Charity no 269671

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR TEACHERS AND COURSES FOR STUDENTS

CERTIFICATE IN TESOL
for those starting out in teaching English abroad - 4-week intensive courses in London, Barcelona, Istanbul, Tuscany

DIPLOMA IN TESOL
for experienced English language teachers - by distance-learning

ENGLISH LANGUAGE COURSES
for foreign students in central London. Classes and accommodation. Agent enquiries welcome.

OXFORD HOUSE COLLEGE, LONDON
Tel ++44 171 5809785 Fax 3234582
e-mail: [illegible]
Teacher-training courses validated by Trinity College London

School of Geography

As part of a major programme of expansion, the University is supporting The School of Geography designate with a major investment of posts to enhance its research and teaching activities. The School wishes to appoint people with proven track records of high quality research and publications and, if possible, research grants. It is looking for lively and innovative teaching capability as part of the University's policy of 'Balanced Excellence'.

Chair in Human Geography

(Ref: 98/Q028C)

The School wishes to appoint a Chair in Human Geography to help lead Geography's research towards the next RAE. We are inviting applicants who hold an honours degree or equivalent in Geography or a cognate discipline and a PhD in a relevant field who can demonstrate outstanding calibre and achievement with a proven track record in quality research publications, grant awards and with research leadership skills. A substantial record of relevant tertiary-level teaching is also required. Applicants will be considered from any area of human geography research to expand the School's existing research strengths in both historical and contemporary human geography. These include research on national and political identity, landscape and power, socio-spatial analysis of labour markets, ethnic symbolism and the social construction of space, urban change, the geography of island communities, GIS and census population modelling, the history of geographical knowledge and spaces in science. The person appointed will have a role in the appointment of a lecturer in human geography which will be advertised subsequently.

Salary is negotiable within the professorial range, with eligibility for USS, and there is an attractive package to assist with relocation and resettlement expenses.

Lecturer in Human Geography

(Ref: 98/P103C)

Required to complement and augment existing research in the School as well as to provide development of innovative research in the successful candidate's area. Applicants must have an honours degree or equivalent in Geography or other related discipline and a PhD or equivalent qualification in a relevant area. A proven research record is essential and the ability to attract research grants is desirable. The successful candidate should also be willing to teach at undergraduate level in human geography and experience in innovative teaching methods is desirable.

Salary Scale: Lecturer Grade A, £16,665 - £21,815 Lecturer Grade B: £22,726 - £29,048, with eligibility for USS. Assistance with relocation as appropriate.

Further information about the School facilities can be obtained on application or via the School's Web-site: http://www.qub.ac.uk/geosci

Closing date: Friday, 11 December 1998.

Further particulars quoting appropriate reference number(s) are available from, the Personnel Office, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT7 1NN. Telephone (01232) 273044 or 273854 (answering machine), Fax: (01232) 324944.

Committed to an Equal Opportunities policy and selection on merit, the University welcomes applications from all sections of the community. Under its affirmative action programme it particularly welcomes applications from women for academic posts.

The Queen's University of Belfast

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES

UNIVERSITY	POST	REF. NO.
AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN		
Botswana	Co-ordinator (SL/L) Environmental Education Programme	W46959
Botswana	SL Geology	W46971
Botswana	L Geology	W46972
Botswana	AP Management	W46973
Botswana	L Management	W46974
Botswana	L Social Work	W46975
Botswana	SL Mechanical Engineering	W46976
UWI (Jamaica)	P/SL Library & Information Studies	W46968
UWI (Jamaica)	Financial Accountant	W46969
UWI (Bahamas)	L/AL Obstetrics & Gynaecology	W46977
UWI (Bahamas)	L/AL Anaesthetics & Intensive Care	W46978
AUSTRALIA		
Griffith (Queensland)	SL/L Marketing	W46966
Queensland	L Education	W46981
Queensland	L Disability/Special Needs Education	W46982
Tasmania	L Women's Studies	W46962
Tasmania	L Journalism & Media Studies	W46963
Tasmania	L Sociology	W46964
HONG KONG		
Hong Kong	P: Chair Anaesthesiology	W46979
HK Baptist Univ.	ASP Education Studies	W46970
NEW ZEALAND		
Canterbury	L Sociology (Ethnic Relations)	W46960
Canterbury	L Sociology (Feminist Analysis)	W46961
Canterbury	L Zoology	W46980
PACIFIC		
Brunei	SL/L Mathematics	W46983
Brunei	SL/L Critical & Creative Thinking	W46984
Brunei	SL/L Sociology/Anthropology	W46985
Brunei	AP/SL/L Information Technology	W46986
Brunei	SL/L Development, Planning and Management of Urban Areas	W46987
Brunei	AP/SL/L Quantitative Methods, Production and Operations Management	W46988
Brunei	AP/SL/L English Language & Applied Linguistics	W46989
Brunei	SL/L Accounting & Finance	W46990
Brunei	AP/SL/L Marketing & International Business	W46991
Brunei	P/AP/SL Islamic Studies	W46992
Brunei	SL/L Physical Education	W46993
Brunei	SL/L Technical Teacher Education	W46994
Brunei	P/AP Special Education	W46995
PNGUT (Papua New Guinea)	SL Computer Science	W46965

Abbreviations: P - Professor; AP - Associate Professor, ASP - Assistant Professor. SL - Senior Lecturer; L - Lecturer; AL - Assistant Lecturer.

For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact ACU (Advertising), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK (internal. tel. +44 171 387 8572 ext. 206 [UK office hours]; fax +44 171 383 0368; e-mail: appts@acu.ac.uk), quoting reference number of post(s). Details will be sent by airmail/first class post. A sample copy of the publication *Appointments in Commonwealth Universities*, including subscription details, is available from the same source.



Promoting educational co-operation throughout the Commonwealth

Director

THE COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION

Applications are invited from Commonwealth citizens for the position of Director of the Commonwealth Foundation. Salary for UK residents/British nationals: £68,981 gross (including UK Benefits Allowance and subject to 'internal' income tax); for overseas recruits/non-British nationals: £52,848 free of tax (including Expatriation Allowance) plus other allowances. Initial contract: 2-3 years, renewable.

The Commonwealth Foundation is a London based inter-governmental organisation that supports capacity building and skill sharing within the non-governmental (NGO) sector of the Commonwealth. It also provides grants and undertakes programmatic activities in the areas of professional development and exchange, and the arts and culture.

The Director is responsible for the overall management and direction of the Foundation and its work, including the implementation of strategic initiatives in the areas of promoting effective NGO-government relations, and a study of the evolving role of civil society.

Candidates must be able to demonstrate:

- insight into Commonwealth and international development issues, and commitment to the People's Commonwealth;
- a strong track record in organisational management and strategy development;
- excellent communication and diplomatic skills;
- adequate experience and understanding in respect of the NGO sector and its operation, and in particular its interface with government, the private sector and other players in civil society.

For an information pack, please telephone +44 (0) 171 930 6014, fax +44 (0) 171 839 8157, or e-mail: jeffreyd@commonwealth.int

Note: shortlisted candidates only will be contacted by 31 March 1999.

Closing date: 15 January 1999.

FAIRFAX UNIVERSITY (USA)

- Home Study degree programs
- Credits for prior learning/ experience
- BA, MBA, PhD etc programs
- http://expage.com/page/fairfax

Prospectus from UK representative office EES office (GUW), P.O.Box 400, Peterborough PE2 6GD UK
Tele/Fax: +44 (0) 1733 239923

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
TRINITY COLLEGE

SCHOOL OF CLASSICS

Applications are invited for the following appointment in the School of Classics, tenable from 1 October 1999 (or as soon as possible thereafter).

CHAIR OF LATIN (1870)

The vacancy has arisen because of the appointment of the previous holder, Professor Kathleen Coleman, to a professorship at Harvard University. Candidates should have a distinguished record of scholarly research in one or more areas of Latin studies. Administrative duties within the School of Classics will include Headship of the School, in accordance with College's practice.

Appointment will be made at an appropriate point of the professorial salary scale, currently IR£45,447 - IR£58,708.

Further particulars relating to this appointment may be obtained from:

Michael Gleeson
Secretary to the College
West Theatre
Trinity College
Dublin 2
Tel: +353-1-608-2197/1722;
Facsimile: +353-1-671-0037;
E-mail: domurphy@tcd.ie

to whom formal applications should be sent, to arrive before the preferred closing date - **Friday, 11 December 1998.**

Trinity College is an equal opportunities employer.

PRINCIPAL

St Giles Language Teaching Center
San Francisco

Applicants are invited for this important post at one of the leading schools of English in the USA. St Giles runs RSA/CELTA courses and is actively involved in TEFL Training.

We are seeking a dynamic person with business acumen, leadership qualities and appropriate TEFL experience.

Good salary plus Profit Related Pay scheme and medical benefits. Applicants should have experience of working in America. Preference will be given to applicants with permission to work in the USA.

Applications in writing with full c.v. to

The Director
St Giles Educational Trust
51 Shepherds Hill
London N6 5QP

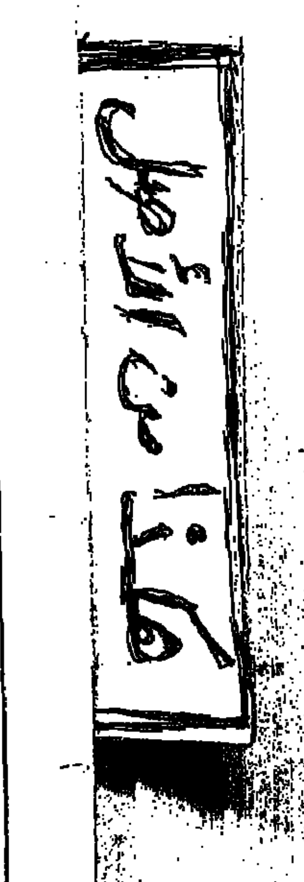
Closing date for applications: 16th November
Fax No: 0181-348 9389 E-Mail:lonhigh@stgiles.u-net.com



The International Rescue Committee, a private, non-profit agency assisting refugees worldwide is currently seeking candidates for the **Emergency Response Roster** *for the following positions:*

- Reproductive Health Specialists
- Child Survival Specialists
- Shelter/Civil Engineers
- Public Health/RN/MD Specialists
- Water/Sanitation Experts
- Logisticians
- Program Managers

Substantial Int'l work experience in crisis environments required.
Able to travel w/short notice.
Contact Denis Nguyen, fax: (212) 551-3170/e-mail: denis@intrescom.org
For more information, visit IRC's website at: www.intrescom.org
International Rescue Committee, 122 East 42nd Street, 12th Floor, New York, NY 10168-1289



Sphinx yields location of Cleo's palace

Owen Bowcott and Khaled Dawoud in Cairo

THE sunken ruins of Cleopatra's Palace may be opened to the public in an underwater museum where visitors will be able to stroll through a network of glass tunnels on the Mediterranean seabed off Alexandria.

Support for the project, devised by Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities, has been boosted by the recovery last week from the harbour's waters of a 2,000-year-old sphinx.

The black granite statue's face portrays Cleopatra's father, Ptolemy XII, and dates from an era when Alexandria was one of the cultural capitals of the ancient world. The complex of waterfront buildings and royal courts, where the statue stood, slipped beneath the waves more than 1,600 years ago after a devastating earthquake.

"Ptolemy XII was known as the Flute Player," says Susan Walker, deputy keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities at the British Museum. "He would be difficult to mistake because he had strong features like Mr Punch; a huge hooked nose and prominent chin."

Two French-led teams of marine archaeologists have been diving in the waters around Alexandria. At the western end of the harbour, further out to sea, the first team have discovered the toppled remains of the Pharos, the giant lighthouse once rated as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

The other sub-aqua team, led by Franck Goddio, discovered the location of the submerged royal courts after four years of exploration aided by a satellite global positioning system.

They have also pinpointed the royal harbour of Cape Lochias, the island of Antirhodos, which housed one of Cleopatra's palaces, and the peninsula where her lover, Mark Antony, built his retreat, the Timonium.

"That part of the eastern harbour was for years a protected zone because of its military use," says Dr Walker, who intends to visit the site. "It's an aquarium version of Salisbury Plain, where great tracts of land have been preserved because of a military ban which has now been lifted."

Although Alexandria is well known from historical and literary sources, most of the archaeological evidence has disappeared under the modern city. Built by Alexander the Great in 332 BC for its magnificent harbour, the city became the commercial gateway to Egypt and a centre of learning filled with gardens, fountains and temples.

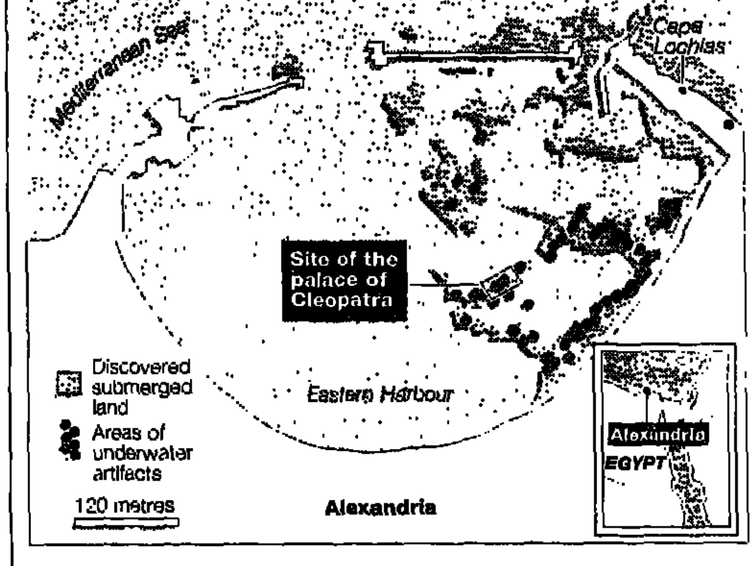
"We are opening a whole new world. This is the world's heritage," declared Gaballa Ali Gaballa, Egypt's chief archaeologist. Rather than draining part of the bay or removing the statues, he proposes constructing the network of underwater tunnels. Most of the site is under 6 metres of water.

A feasibility study for the museum has been started and funds are being sought from Unesco. "It sounds crazy, but I know it is not crazy. I know it can be done," says Dr Gaballa.

Another suggestion has been to use a glass submarine to take tourists down below.



A diver confronts the sphinx in Alexandria harbour. The ruins of the Pharos, below right, have also been found PHOTO: STEPHANE COMPOINT/SI...



CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE

Thrifty Car Rental
Car rental with a difference...
Call + 44(0) 990 168 238
Fax + 44(0) 990 168 104
e-mail: thrifty@thrifty.co.uk
or
Receive your on-line quotation on www.thrifty.co.uk
PLEASE QUOTE: GWY
The friendly face of car rental

Nationwide
Vehicle Rental
UK In-Bound Weekly Rates
Economy £98 / Compact £112
Intermediate £140 / Standard £189
Estate £196 / MPV £322 / Exec £448
Tel: +44 1825 761414 - Fax +44 1825 761413
e-mail: reservations@nationwide-hire.co.uk
LHR / LGW / MAN / EDI / GLA / LCY

PAMBER CAR HIRE U.K. PHONE:+44 (0) 118 944 2412
62 READING ROAD, WOODLEY, READING, RG5 3DD. FAX:+44 (0) 118 969 6295
SEND PHONE OR FAX FOR A BROCHURE TODAY FOR FULL DETAILS
WE MEET YOUR FLIGHT AND YOU CONTINUE YOUR JOURNEY WITHOUT DELAYS.

INCLUSIVE WEEKLY RATES

A	ROVER NISSAN FORD FIESTA	£105	F	FORD ROVER VAUXHALL PEUGEOT 1.6 ESTATE	£185
B	FORD ESCORT ROVER 200	£140	G	FORD MONDEO 1.8/2.0 LX PEUGEOT 405 1.9 G.R	£195
D	ROVER 416 & 216 FORD MONDEO 1.6	£175	H	ROVER 820 SL1	£225

Quote ref G.W.

ALL MAJOR AIRPORTS • CENTRAL LONDON • 150 UK LOCATIONS • EIRE

		(7)	(14)	(21)
A Ford KA	from	86	172	260
B Ford FIESTA	from	95	182	268
C ROVER 200	from	129	253	373
D VW PASSAT	from	169	333	487
E ESTATE CARS	from	179	349	509
F AUTOMATICS	from	169	333	487
G Ford GALAXY (7 sts)	from	289	569	844

PRESTIGE CARS / ESTATES ON REQUEST
• PRICES INC VAT/CDW • NEW CARS •
• UNLIMITED MILES • OPEN 7 DAYS •
CONTACT WORLDWIDE RESERVATIONS:
TEL + 44 1794 518717
FAX + 44 1794 519752
e-mail: wwideres@aol.com
www: http://members.aol.com/wwideres

UK CAR RENTAL
AT HEATHROW / GATWICK / LUTON / STANSTED AND LONDON CITY AIRPORTS
£79
Rates include Vat, insurance, unlimited mileage, Airport surcharges, AA/RAC cover etc.
LONDON AIRPORT RENTALS
CENTRAL RESERVATIONS
Tel +44 1582 419311 Fax +44 1582 411730

MANCHESTER AIRPORT
NEW CARS FROM-
7 Day/24hr Service
All prices fully inclusive
£99 weekly
BIG APPLE CAR HIRE
Tel: +44 1625 615 999
Fax: +44 1625 615 495

ACCESS CAR HIRE U.K Tel. +44 (0) 1189 ... Fax. +44 (0) 1189 ...
Horncastle Garage Ltd (Dept.X)
Bath Road, Reading, Berkshire RG30 2HS
SPECIAL OFFERS!!
AVAILABLE ON SELECTED MODELS
AIRPORT TERMINAL MEET & GREET SERVICE
PLEASE WRITE PHONE OR FAX FOR DETAILS
FORD FIESTA 1.1 LX
Only £199.00 for 2 weeks
Fully inclusive of comprehensive insurance CDW, delivery/collection to Heathrow, Gatwick or Central London, unlimited mileage and VAT.

VALUE CARS

Ford Escort 1.4/8D 3/5dr	£110 p.w.
Ford Mondeo 1.8 4/5dr	£130 p.w.
Ford Mondeo 1.8 Automatic	£140 p.w.
Ford Mondeo 1.8 Estate	£150 p.w.
Ford Galaxy 7 seater T.D.I.	£275 p.w.

Fully inclusive rates.
Meet & Greet services from Heathrow/Gatwick
TEL +44 1403 267600
FAX +44 1403 267666

NEVER HIRE A CAR UNTIL YOU HAVE CHECKED KENDALL'S PRICES
200 Fine Cars, Vans, Estates
7, 12 & 15-Seaters for Hire
Airport Collection
KENDALL CARS
34 Aldershot Rd., Guildford
Tel: +44 1483 574434
Fax: +44 1483 34781

HOTELS & APARTMENTS

THE GRAPEVINE HOTEL
117 Warwick Way
Victoria, London,
SW1V 4HT - UK
Tel: (44)(0) 171 834 0134
Fax: (44)(0) 171 834 7878
E-mail: Thegrapev@aol.com

BUDGET ACCOMMODATION IN VICTORIA-LONDON
Comfortable budget hotel in the heart of London (4 minutes walk from Victoria Station).
Basic/Ensuite rooms, all with colour TV and Tea/coffee making facilities.
Double: £45/55 includes E-Breakfast and Tax

Muhammad Yunus is a banker who has a plan to end world poverty with £17 and a lot of trust. And in Bangladesh it works. Here he explains how

Credit where credit's due

THERE are many ways for people to die, but somehow dying of starvation is the most unacceptable of all. It happens in slow motion. Second by second, the distance between life and death becomes smaller and smaller.

At one point, life and death are in such close proximity one can hardly see the difference, and one literally doesn't know if the mother and child prostrate on the ground are of this world or the next. Death happens so quietly, so inexorably, you don't even hear it.

And all this happens because a person does not have a handful of food to eat at each meal. The tiny baby, who does not yet understand the mystery of the world, cries and cries, and finally falls asleep, without the milk it needs so badly. The next day maybe it won't even have the strength to cry.

I used to get excited teaching my university students in Bangladesh how economic theories provided answers to economic problems of all types. I got carried away by the beauty and elegance of these theories. Yet all of a sudden I started having an empty feeling. What good were all these elegant theories when people died of starvation on pavements and on doorsteps? My classroom now seemed to me like a cinema where you could relax because you knew that the good guy in the film would ultimately win. In the classroom I knew, right from the beginning, that each economic problem would have an elegant ending. But when I came out of the classroom I was faced with the real world. Here, good guys were mercilessly beaten and trampled.

I wanted to understand the reality around a poor person's existence and discover the real-life economics that were played out every day in my country so I decided to spend some time in the neighbouring village of Jobra.

I decided I would become a student all over again, and Jobra would be my university.

One day, as my colleague and I were making our rounds there, we stopped at a completely run-down house. We saw a woman working with bamboo, making a stool.

She was squatting on the dirt floor of her veranda under the low, rotten, thatched roof of her house, totally absorbed in her work. She was holding the half-finished stool between her knees while plaiting the strands of bamboo cane.

Children were running around naked in the yard. Neighbours appeared and watched us, wondering what we were doing there.

She was in her early 20s, thin, with dark skin, black eyes. She wore a red sari and could have been any one of a million women who labour every day from morning to night in utter destitution.

Her name was Sufia Begum and she was 21 years old.

"Do you own this bamboo?" I asked her.

"Yes."

"How do you get it?"

"I buy it."

"How much does the bamboo cost you?"

"Five taka." That was 13 pence (21 US cents).

"Do you have five taka?"

"No, I borrow it from the *paikars*."

"The middlemen? What is your arrangement with them?"

"I must sell my bamboo stools back to them at the end of the day, so as to repay my loan. That way what is left over to me is my profit."

"How much do you sell it for?"

"Five taka and 50 paisa."

"So you make 50 paisa profit?" She nodded. That came to a profit of just over a penny.

"And could you borrow the cash and buy your own raw material?"

"Yes, but the money-lender would demand a lot. And people who start with them only get poorer."

"How much do the money-lenders charge?"

"It depends. Sometimes they charge 10 per cent per week. I even have a neighbour who is paying 10 per cent per day."

Sufia set to work again, because she did not want to lose any time talking with us. I watched her small, brown hands plaiting the strands of bamboo as they had every day for months and years on end. This was her livelihood. She squatted on the hard mud. Her fingers were callused, her nails black with grime.

It seemed to me that Sufia's status as virtually a bonded slave was never going to change if she could not find that five taka to start with. Credit could bring her that money. She could then sell her products in a free market and could get a much better spread between the cost of her materials and her sale price.

The next day I called in a university student who collected data for me, and I asked her to assist me in making a list of how many in Jobra, like Sufia, were borrowing from traders and missing out on what they should have been earning from the fruits of their labours.

Within a week, we had prepared a list. It named 42 people who in total had borrowed 856 taka, a total of less than £17 ($28).

"My God, my God, all this misery in all these 42 families all because of the lack of £17!" I exclaimed.

My mind wouldn't let this problem lie. I wanted to be of help to these 42 able-bodied, hard-working people. I kept going round and round the problem, like a dog worrying his bone. If I lent them £17, they could sell their products to anyone; they could then get the highest possible return for their labour, and would not be limited to the usurious practices of the money-lenders.

I lent them £17 and said they could repay me whenever they could afford to. Over the next week, it struck me that what I had done was not sufficient because it was only a personal and emotional solution. I had simply lent £17, but what I had to do was to provide an institutional solution.

That was the beginning of it all. I was not trying to become a money-lender; I had no intention of lending money to anyone; all I really wanted was to solve an immediate problem. Even to this day I still view myself, my work and that of my colleagues, as devoted to solving the same immediate problem: the problem of poverty which humiliates and denigrates everything that a human being stands for.

We did not know anything about how to run a bank for the poor, so we had to learn from scratch. I wanted to cover all aspects of rural lives such as trading, small manufacturing, retailing and even selling door to door. I want this to be a rural bank, not a bank merely concerned with crops and farms. So I called it Grameen Bank which comes from the word "gram" and means "village".

Our clients do not need to show how large their savings are and how much wealth they have, they need to prove how poor they are, how little savings they have.

To my amazement and surprise the repayment of loans by people who borrow without collateral is much better than those whose borrowings are secured by enormous assets. Indeed, more than 98 per cent of our loans are repaid because the poor know this is the only opportunity they have to break out of their poverty. And they don't have any cushion whatsoever to fall back on. If they fall foul of this one loan, how will they survive? On the other hand, people who are well-off don't care what the law will do to them because they know how to manipulate it. People at the bottom are afraid of everything, so they want to do a good job because they have to. They have no choice.

In structuring our own loans, I made the payments so small that the borrower would not miss the money, would not even notice it. This was a way to overcome the psychological barrier of "parting with all that money". I decided to make it a daily payment. The monitoring would be easier, I would be able to tell right away who was paying and who was falling behind in their payments.

I also thought it would enhance self-discipline among people who had never borrowed before in their lives, and would give them the confidence that they could manage it.

Slowly we developed our own delivery/recovery mechanism, and of course we made many mistakes along the way.

Today we have arrived at a simple repayment mechanism that all our borrowers understand almost immediately: one-year loans, equal weekly instalments, repayment starts one week after the loan, interest rate of 20 per cent [far less than the usurers], repayment amounts to 2 per cent per week for 50 weeks.

Now we have more than 12,000 employees and 1,112 branches in Bangladesh. The staff meet more than 2,300,000 borrowers face to face to each week, on their doorstep. Each month we lend out more than $35 million in tiny loans. At the same time, almost, a similar amount comes back to us in repayments.

Gradually we focused almost exclusively on lending to women. If the goals of economic development include improved standards of living, removal of poverty, access to dignified employment, and reduction in inequality, then it is quite natural to start with women. They constitute the majority of the poor, the underemployed and the economically and socially disadvantaged. And since they were closer to the children, women were also our key to the future of Bangladesh.

This was not easy. The first and most formidable opposition came from the husbands. Next the mullahs. Then the professional people, and even government officials.

BEING poor in Bangladesh is tough for everyone, but being a poor woman is toughest of all. When she is given the smallest opportunity, she struggles extra hard to get out of poverty.

The life story of Ammajan Amina, one of our first borrowers, illustrates what micro-credit can do for a street beggar. Of her six children, four had died of hunger or disease. Only two daughters survived. Her husband, much older than her, was ill. For several years, he had spent most of the family assets on trying to find a cure.

After his death, all that Amina had left was the house. She was in here and had never earned an income before. Her in-laws tried to expel her and her children from the house where she had lived for 20 years, but she refused to leave.

She tried selling home-made cakes and biscuits door-to-door, but one day she returned to find her brother-in-law had sold her tin roof, and the buyer was busy removing it. Now the rainy season started, and she was cold, hungry and too poor to make food to sell. All she had, she used to feed her own children.

Because she was a proud woman, she begged, but only in nearby villages. As she had no roof to protect her house, the monsoon destroyed her mud walls. One day when she returned she found her house had collapsed, and she started screaming: "Where is my daughter? Where is my baby?" She found her older child dead under the rubble of her house.

When my colleague Nurjahan met her in 1976, she held her only surviving child in her arms. She was hungry, heartbroken and desperate.

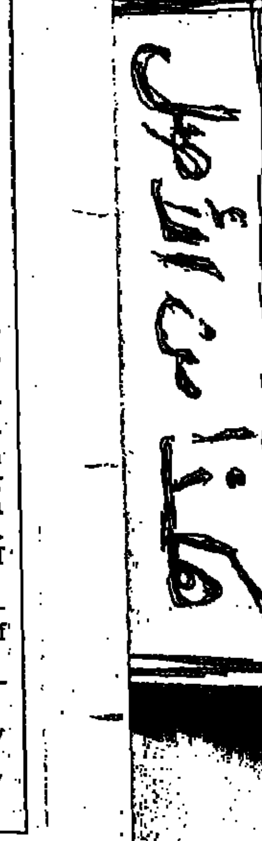
There was no question of any money-lender, much less a commercial bank, giving her credit. But with small loans she started making bamboo baskets and remained a borrower to the end of her days. Now her daughter is a member of Grameen.

Today, we have more than 2 million such life stories, one for each of our members.



Muhammad Yunus: Women come first PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

Banker to the Poor by Muhammad Yunus and Alan Jolis is published by the Aurum Press at £20. If you wish to order it at the special price of £17 contact CultureShop (see page 33)



Letter from Burma Mark Harris

Endurance test

THE Enlightened One had chosen to transcend his earth-capsule from the peace of the hill-temple high above eastern Burma.

Methodically pulling back its saffron robe, a monk reveals the corpse of his 11-year-dead master. "He had told me the day he was going to die and asked me to prepare for him to be laid in the brick-room next to the main temple." With no embalming and no decay, the eyes are still as piercing as the day he had predicted the timing of his own death. Buddhist pilgrims still climb up here to marvel at this mysterious preservation.

Below the shrine, a treacherous road cuts through the jumbled mountains of the Shan highlands; a trade route from the Thai Golden Triangle to the China border. The combination of monsoon rains and strategic road mismanagement means that the 250km drive takes anything from a day to a whole week. Landslides, multiple pile-ups in the mud and communal digging out of entrenched vehicles make the journey a nightmare.

Firmly in the driving seat is the Tatmadaw — the ruling armed forces from the Bamar ethnic group of the lowlands. Continuing the tradition of *corvée* labour, these soldiers force villagers to quarry the rocks and provide supplies for the construction of the road.

In the Shan villages, stone production has become a necessary inclusion in the division of labour. Each family must produce a quota to be piled at neat intervals beside the road. An elderly Shan man, forced into the unenviable task of co-ordinating the response to the military's demands, gesticulates that failure to provide the quota results in a rifle-butt to the head.

Adolescent conscripts from the Burmese coastal plains are posted in the Shan highlands to fight the losing battle with the mud road. Roadwork builds up their stamina for future military manoeuvres in enforcing the State Peace and Development Council ideology of "People's Desire": "Crush all internal and external destructive elements as the common enemy." Along the road, the youngsters learn the language of the "crush", heavily accented with extortion ranging from checkpoint bribery to state-legitimised looting of villages.

Here in the Shan villages, locals talk of soldiers arriving and demanding food, firewood, livestock and other provisions. One villager says soldiers arrived uninvited at his sister's wedding reception and devoured all the food and rice wine so important in the local marriage customs. There are even reports of villagers being forced into poppy cultivation for an added military bonus — Burma is still the world's biggest opium producer.

Often the strongest men from the villages are singled out as front-line porters in areas of resistance, and there are accounts of village girls being handpicked by soldiers and raped. Shan resistance pamphlets report whole villages being forcibly relocated and document the atrocities committed by what they call "the military narco-dictatorship".

In the isolated town of Kengtung, the soaring stupas of the Buddhist temples hint at its previous importance as a spiritual centre and the royal seat of the Khun culture. When I ask directions to the much-revered Haw Sao Ha palace, a local woman points to a black-glassed eyesore. She explains that, despite the protests of monks and locals, the magnificent palace was recently demolished by the Tatmadaw, paving the way for the building of an over-sized government hotel: an unforgivable attempt to further destroy the local culture. Shops still sell under-the-counter images of the palace for secret family worship to preserve its place in the collective memory.

The heavy military presence reveals Rangoon's new agenda for the hill town that is now a strategic stronghold against Shan insurgents and opium "control". In front of the town office the slogans of the "People's Desire" spell it out: "Oppose those trying to jeopardise the stability of the state," which I take to mean ethnic groups resisting cultural annihilation or students who lost their universities for supporting democracy activist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, known in the media as "the infamous democracy princess" or "the wife of a White".

The ageing disciple redresses the burnished body with saffron robes: "I have stayed here ever since to take care of him. Up here I can learn. Here there is silence."

Staring across the paddy terraces, he looks down on the very earthly world below.



Contact with 'untouchables' is avoided by Hindus of higher standing PHOTOGRAPH: JAMES NACHTWAY/MAGNUM

Genes reveal the caste system's durability

Robin McKie

SCIENTISTS have uncovered a pattern of genetic differences that underpins the caste system in India. They have found that variations in social rank are mirrored in DNA.

The link is not a causal one, however. Genes do not dictate a person's social rank; instead they show that each caste has developed a distinctive genetic profile because there is little intermarriage. This is particularly true for men while, intriguingly, women's genes suggest they have some social mobility.

India's Hindus are stratified into around 2,000 castes, each grouped into four *varnas* that dictate a person's access to education, occupation and status. Marriages between individuals of different varnas are strongly discouraged.

To study how deeply these divisions have affected Indians, a team led by Dr Michael Bamshad of Utah university in the United States studied the genetic material of 250 people from 12 different castes in Andhra Pradesh state in southern India.

In particular, they examined their mitochondrial DNA, which is inherited only from mothers, and Y chromosomes, inherited only from fathers.

Their analysis showed that a man's DNA is highly specific to his caste. With women this link was less pronounced, DNA typical of one caste sometimes being found in adjoining castes. The discovery suggests that women occasionally marry men from higher castes, producing children that have their husband's social rank.

As the researchers state in the magazine Nature: "The stratification of the Hindu caste system is driven by women." Geneticist Dr Steve Jones, of University College London, agreed. "Now that we can separate differences in female gene patterns from those of men, we have a very powerful tool for analysing past human behaviour."

One example now being studied by researchers is the impact the Viking raiders had on Britain's genetic heritage 1,000 years ago.

A Country Diary

Steve Wratten

BANKS *Peninsula, New Zealand:* We left the sunken volcanic crater that forms Akaroa harbour, with its red-billed gulls bathing in the streams entering the sea, and began our walk towards the crater rim. The steep tracks started at Rue Lavaud, the name a reminder of the French sea captain who brought colonists here around 1846 and whose descendants still live in the town.

We had walked for 30 minutes and left behind most of the European birds of the lowlands: only an occasional song thrush or dunnock could be heard singing in the still, grey spring morning. By contrast, the vibrant song of bellbirds was all around. As we climbed higher, we started to enter the cloud layer, where the only birds were New Zealand pipits, calling to each other from their basalt rock perches, and tomtits, flitting along fence posts until they reached the limits of their territories. The plants, too, were now mainly natives, and, with the gorse and broom left behind, we tried to identify the commonest hebes. Willow-leaved hebe, native to the South Island, was easy, but *Hebe lavaudiana*, also named after the French sailor, was less easily found.

As we came out of the mist and returned to Akaroa, we flushed out a pair of cirl buntings on a scrubby hillside — a reminder that we had re-entered the domain of European fauna and that some bird species, such as the English bunting, are probably more common here than in their place of origin.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHAT determines the radius of the arc of a rainbow?

WHEN an observer sees a rainbow he sees it at a fixed angle of 42 degrees, going outward from the anti-solar point, ie, the point in front of the viewer opposite the sun. If the sun is high in the sky, ie, more than 42 degrees above the horizon, then no rainbow is visible; but as the angle of the sun decreases below 42 degrees, usually during the evening, more of the rainbow can be seen. If the sun is setting as a shower passes, then a full half bow is seen with the bow a complete 42 degrees from the anti-solar point, which is just below the horizon. The secondary bow is formed when the rays of light are doubly-refracted within the raindrop, and this time the position of the bow is fixed at 52 degrees from the anti-solar point and outside the primary bow. The order of colours is reversed. So the height of the bow is determined by the sun's angle above the horizon. — *Adam and Lindsay Thorne, Pershore, Worcestershire*

THE radius depends on the distance of the observer from the droplets producing the rainbow. The greater this distance, the greater the radius. A few years ago I was flying from Alderney to Southampton in a light aircraft on a sunny day when the sky was dotted with cumulus clouds. The sun was directly behind us, and as we approached each cloud we could see a completely circular rainbow, with the shadow of the aircraft at its centre. As we drew nearer, the circle diminished in size, vanishing as we entered the cloud. — *Kate Wright, Ampthill, Bedfordshire*

DO OR DID zombies exist?

NOW, zombies are found mainly in front of TV sets. Originally, Zombie was the python god of certain West African tribes, who (as slaves) carried its worship to Haiti and the southern US in the form of voodoo. Like the TV addict, the ritual involved the apparent resurrection of an otherwise dead body known as a zombie. — *Ted Webber, Kewarra Beach, Queensland, Australia*

IN CANADA, during the second world war, conscripts who refused to go overseas to fight were called zombies. — *Ed Lyons, Toronto, Canada*

HAS Viagra received more free publicity than any other commercial product in history?

THIS is a very hard statistic to establish, though it has faced stiff competition from the Cuban cigar. — *Tony Lenton, Balgowan, Natal, South Africa*

WHAT is the term for getting the lyrics to songs wrong?

JUST AS one can mis-hear words (as in the hymn "Gladly, the cross-eyed bear"), one can also mis-read words. The example I remember from childhood is "misled", the past tense of the verb "to mislead". Now days on TV, when I hear "week nights at 6.30", I see small horsemen galloping across the screen. — *Stephen Hodgkin, Canberra, Australia*

Any answers?

IF I WERE given a loaded revolver and diplomatic immunity, would it be all right to go and shoot Pinochet? — *Carolyn Doyley, Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire*

WHY are rings (paedophile, drug) nasty, but circles (family, friends) nice? — *Steve Carey, Victoria, Australia*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at http://nq.guardian.co.uk/

The great leapfrog forward

A clash of cultures looms at the global warming talks in Buenos Aires, writes **Fred Pearce**

MASAI tribesmen in Kenya are lighting their mud huts with solar panels. The plains of India are whirring to the sound of wind turbines. In Brazil, cars run on alcohol fermented from sugar cane. Has the age of coal and oil passed? Can these fast-developing nations "leapfrog" from rural economies to industrial powerhouses without following the West and burning billions of tonnes of coal and oil, and pumping out greenhouse gases? Can they grow rich without turning the planet into a cauldron of climate change?

One man who says they can is Brazilian physics professor Jose Goldemberg. A former rector of the University of São Paulo, he was the Brazilian minister for both science and environment in the early 1990s. Before that he headed the electricity utility in São Paulo, the largest city in the southern hemisphere. Now he is back at the university as a professor. "Developing countries have a fundamental choice," he says. "They can mimic the industrialised nations and go through an economic development phase that is dirty, wasteful and creates an enormous legacy of environmental pollution; or they can leapfrog . . . and incorporate modern and efficient technologies."

Consider, he says, how developing world villages, where more than 2 billion people live without electricity, might light their huts. There is the old way: an ordinary electric light bulb hooked to distant coal-burning power stations. That way, only 1 per cent of the original fuel provides energy for the light because of the inefficiency of the power station, the transmission lines and the light bulb. Or they can leapfrog to a low-energy compact fluorescent lightbulb powered by a solar panel on the hut roof, creating the "zero-emission village".

Goldemberg is an optimist. The amount of carbon dioxide, the most important greenhouse gas, emitted for every unit of energy produced has been falling gradually for a century and a half. Every generation has industrialised at less environmental cost than the preceding one.

One important hurdle to leapfrog is fossil fuel burning, which releases huge amounts of carbon dioxide. Burn living carbon, and the biomass can be regrown, sucking from the atmosphere all the CO_2 released by burning the previous crop. In one technology Brazil has led the way, powering its vehicles on ethanol from fermented sugar cane juice. This industry, begun in the 1970s to reduce reliance on foreign oil, uses 4 million hectares of sugar plantations to fuel half Brazil's vehicles while reducing CO_2 emissions each year by 18 per cent. Ethanol has a similar octane to petrol and runs in almost standard engines, although Brazil developed its own motorbike that runs on the fuel. At first the government subsidised the production of ethanol heavily to get the scheme off the ground. Now it has become a standard fuel and could benefit other sugar-growing countries such as Zimbabwe and Cuba.

Goldemberg also sees big potential in burning more wood. This won't mean huddling round the campfire, or even relying on today's low-pressure wood boilers.

The leapfrog technology is gasification: wood from "energy farms" is turned to gas, then fed into a gas turbine. This has a thermal efficiency of around 45 per cent, compared with 10 per cent or less when burning wood in low-pressure boilers. The World Bank's Global Environment Facility, a key funder of leapfrog energy projects, has helped to build such a plant in Brazil.

Wind and solar and hydroelectric power all have huge potential. Solar power remains a novelty in Europe, but is taking hold in Africa and solar panels are widely available in city markets in Nairobi. Last month the energy giant Royal Dutch Shell announced a $30 million investment to bring solar power to 50,000 homes currently without electricity in rural South Africa.

A clash between the developed and the developing world looms in Buenos Aires this week at the fourth conference of parties to the United Nations' Climate Change Convention. The summit faces the threat from the US Congress not to cut US greenhouse gas emissions until the developing nations agree to limits on their own, much lower emissions. For example, the US emits 5.4 tonnes of CO_2 per head of population, while the UK emits 2.6 tonnes (a typical figure for Europe). Argentina, the conference host, emits 1 tonne per head, China 0.7 and India 0.3.

The developing countries won't stand for such arrogance — unless leapfrogging offers a painless way out. Earlier this year, in the journal Energy Policy, Goldemberg wrote that in the past six years some developing countries had made greater strides in keeping rises in CO_2 emissions below rises in economic activity than their richer counterparts.

By cutting subsidies for coal, China had triggered efficiency gains at power stations that reduced CO_2 emissions by 155 million tonnes a year, virtually the same as Britain's total emissions. India's subsidies for wind turbines have turned it into the world's third largest producer of wind energy.

Last year Goldemberg persuaded his government to declare that, within 10 years, Brazil should accept limits on its emissions of carbon dioxide. Since then Brazil's neighbour, Argentina, and South Korea have both made similar noises. The battle to reconcile fairness with planetary protection is far from over, as delegates will hear in Buenos Aires.

But in the long term some in the developing world believe that the world has no option but to go for greenhouse-friendly energy technologies. And if they no longer want to borrow hand-me-down technologies to get rich, they have to leapfrog to these new technologies. If the future is green, they want to be there first.

EXCELLENT, AN INTEREST RATE THAT'S NOT GOING ANYWHERE.

Worried about falling interest rates? You needn't be if you invest in the new Britannia International 30 Day Notice Account.

It pays up to 7.45% gross, **GUARANTEED until at least 29th January 1999.** Yet just as important, it's exceptionally flexible. You can make withdrawals at any time without penalty by giving just 30 days' written notice. (There's also an immediate access option for emergencies.†)

You can choose to take your income annually, monthly*, or to reinvest it. And whatever you choose, with Britannia International your money starts earning interest from the day we receive your deposit.

*Monthly rates are available on request.

30 DAY NOTICE ACCOUNT 7.45% GROSS P.A.

Minimum Balance	30 Day Notice
£25,000+	7.45%
£10,000	7.25%
£5,000	6.75%

You can open a 30 Day Notice Account with any amount from £1,000. For full details and an application form, please call Britannia International on **+44 1624 681100**, or return the coupon.

Britannia International
www.britanniainternational.com

Please send me further details of the new Britannia International 30 Day Notice Account.

TITLE MR/MRS/MISS/MS ____
FIRST NAME ____
SURNAME ____
ADDRESS ____
30 GWA
POSTCODE ____
TEL NUMBER ____

To: Britannia International Limited, Britannia House, Victoria Street, Douglas, Isle of Man IM99 1SD.
Tel +44 1624 681100 Fax +44 1624 681105
e-mail britannia@mcb.net

The above information may be used to keep you informed of new Britannia International products and services. If you do not wish to receive this information please tick here ☐

†Subject to penalty equivalent to 30 days' loss of interest on amount withdrawn. Interest rate at £1,000 4.5%, £2,500 5.5%. Interest rates are variable but will not be varied until at least 29th January 1999. Interest paid annually on 1st January. Minimum opening investment £1,000. Minimum withdrawal £500. All interest is paid gross. It is the depositor's responsibility to declare interest earned to the appropriate tax authority. Britannia International Limited is a wholly owned subsidiary of Britannia Building Society and is registered with the Isle of Man Financial Supervision Commission for Banking Business. Registered Office: Britannia House, Victoria Street, Douglas, Isle of Man IM99 1SD. Registered Company No. 50583. Deposits made with an Isle of Man office of Britannia International are covered by the Isle of Man Depositors' Compensation Scheme contained in the Isle of Man Banking Business (Compensation of Depositors) Regulations 1991.

ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

Middle Ages spread

Paul Evans

WET, WARM and wild, the wind swings in from the west and rakes across the Edge, blowing leaves like yellow sparks from a bonfire. Inside the wood, the wind thickens the incoming Atlantic weather with a voice that sounds like rocks rolling under the tide. The downpours further west in Wales have caused the worst flooding for 20 years and are now swilling inexorably through the Shropshire lowlands.

During an early morning lull in the rain, with the wind freshening, a patch of sky and shadow between ash and holly takes on a living shape. A few yards away a deer steps lightly, as if sleepwalking. She is dappled with creamy white spots and stripes across fawn flanks, and I recognise her as the lead female of a group which ranges this wood and its edges, often seen testing the ground before the others follow.

The wind is blowing away from her, so she's unaware of my presence. She walks a few steps, browses, lifts her head into the wind and scans dreamily, as if rapt in an inner life which blends seamlessly, like her dappled markings, with the wood itself. Big, for a fallow deer, she appears almost weightless and ethereal.

Fallow deer roamed Britain during previous inter-glacial periods but, unlike red and roe deer, they did not make it back from Europe after the last Ice Age. Their homeland now is in the Eastern Mediterranean countries known as the Levant or Near East.

Although it was once assumed that the Romans introduced fallow deer, there were no Anglo-Saxon or contemporary Welsh references to substantiate this. If the Romans did introduce them, they did not persist in the wild.

It was not until the Middle Ages that the ancestors of this fallow deer arrived in Britain. In the early 12th century the Normans who colonised England established parks and protected forest enclosures for keeping exotic creatures for hunting, a practice they had learned from the Normans who colonised Sicily, who in turn had acquired the practice from classical and Islamic traditions of keeping exotic animals.

Fallow deer remained inside deer parks for many centuries until the 1920s when they began to establish themselves in the wider countryside. Now present in every English county, much of Ireland, Wales and southern Scotland, fallow, together with red, roe and more recently introduced species such as muntjak and Chinese water deer, have had a spectacular population expansion. Part of this may be due to the reduction of people who work on the land, leaving larger areas of the countryside free from human incursions. Certainly, until fairly recently, escaped deer would not last long in the wild.

There are fears that this explosion in deer populations is having an adverse effect on woodland and that, like many American states, a reduction in hunting and a lack of predators will lead to a deterioration in habitat, and poor health and starvation among the deer. However, deer are our largest land mammals and arouse deep feelings of sympathy. They certainly add a dimension to the woods not seen since the Middle Ages. Few imagine that a large-scale deer cull would win popular support.

She's only 20 paces away and I begin to feel like a voyeur, knowing that when she is aware of my presence she'll panic and the spell which encloses her will be broken. When the doe notices me there's a flash of recognition and a slight leap of movement, but she doesn't flee. She retreats to the edge of a steep bank and watches intently. Perhaps she's seen me many more times than I've seen her, and knows I'm no real threat. She watches as I move off. Then the noise of the wind picks up and scatters her dappled shadow into the wood.

Chess Leonard Barden

NOW IT'S getting nasty. England's captain David Norwood has resigned after the mediocre result of the second favourites at the Elista Olympiad. Meanwhile Nigel Short, who drew eight games in a row and admits "an excess of partying", criticises world No 4 Michael Adams for "general lack of enthusiasm", Tony Miles for unwillingness to sit next to the "fidgety" Jon Speelman, and Norwood himself for spending too much time in the bar, a charge to which Norwood counters, "I think we all got worn down a bit by the vodka".

What will ordinary club players make of all this? What will the British Chess Federation's present and potential sponsors think? The Kalmykian partygoers may have done significant damage, not least to their fellow professional GMs and IMs who exist on small incomes from coaching and Open prize money.

As far as the team goes, the immediate answer should be to appoint as captain the hard-working and reliable GM John Emms, a proven coach and motivator. And, while England has an ageing squad, 15-year-old Etienne Bacrot played No 2 for France and Ruslam Ponomariov, aged 14, got a board 5 prize for Ukraine.

So it wouldn't surprise me at all if England's team for the 2008 Olympiad includes Luke McShane, now 14, Murugan Thiruchelvam, 9, and David Howell, 7. These and other talented youngsters should be brought on as fast as possible. This should mean an end to the silly BCF ageist barriers that prevent our boys and girls from competing in the youngest groups at world and European championships.

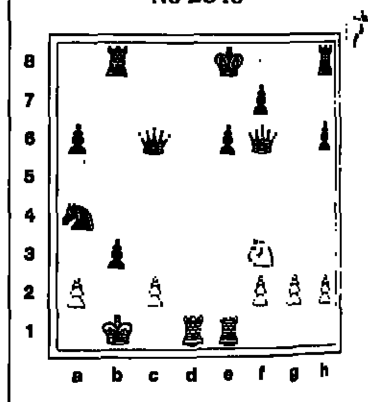
The latest is the World U12 girls rapidplay championship in Paris, starting on November 14, where the BCF plans to be unrepresented, even though 11-year-old Jessie Gilbert has an obvious claim for selection. Gilbert, in fifth place in the national Onyx women's Prixette with only four British championship players ahead of her, is in the top 10 of her age group, including boys, and has shown a marked recent improvement which the BCF hasn't bothered to monitor.

M Thiruchelvam v B Lalic, Kent Open, Maidstone 1998

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 e6 3 c4 Nc6 4 Nc3 Nf6 5 Be2 a6 6 0-0 Qc7 7 d4 cxd4 8 Nxd4 Nxd4 9 Qxd4 Bc5 10 Qd3 h5 11 h3 Qe5 12 Be3 g5 13 Bxc5 Qxc5 14 Rad1 Ke7 15 Qd4 d6 16 f4?! An oversight which turns out well, but 16 Qxc5 dxc5 17 f4 with Bf3 and e5 is simpler.

Qxd4+ 17 Rxd4 gxf4 18 Rfd1 Ne8 19 Na4 e5 20 Nb6 exd4 21 Nxa8 Nf6 22 Nc7! More accurate than 22 Nb6 Ke6. **Kd7 23 Nd5+ Ke6 24 Nxf6 Kxf6 25 Rxd4 Ke7 drawn.** The 9-year-old scores the youngest draw yet with a GM: White is better in the final position and may soon win a pawn by 26 Kf2.

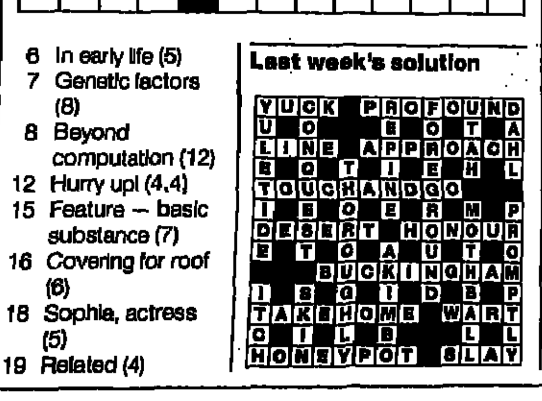
No 2548



Janos Asztalos v Alexander Alekhine, Bled 1931. Those who miss a chance to beat a reigning world champion never live it down. Asztalos (White, to move) can win both rooks by 1 Qxh8+ and 2 Qxb8, but then Alekhine checkmates by Qxc2+ and Qxa2. So the Hungarian timidly captured 1 axb3 Nc3+ 2 Kc1 with an eventual draw. How could White have won?

No 2547: 1 ... Qh5? 2 Qa4! Bxb5 3 Qxa5 wins a piece.

Quick crossword no. 443



Across

1 Fowler's target (4,4)
5 Legend (4)
9 Transparent substance (5)
10 Feeling of drowsy indolence (7)
11 Cheated (in shop etc) (5-7)
13 Ground-breaking implement (6)
14 Admit (6)
17 Insured person (6-6)
20 Player of stringed instrument (7)
21 Fracture — interval (5)
22 Healthy colour? (4)
23 Warn of or promise unpleasantness (6)

Down

1 Payment for work (4)
2 Animal skin (7)
3 Wild flower — racehorse (6,6)
4 Plain cotton fabric (6)
6 In early life (5)
7 Genetic factors (8)
8 Beyond computation (12)
12 Hurry up! (4,4)
15 Feature — basic substance (7)
16 Covering for roof (6)
18 Sophia, actress (5)
19 Related (4)

Last week's solution

Y	U	C	K		P	R	O	F	O	U	N	D
U		O				E		O		T		A
L	I	N	E		A	P	P	R	O	A	C	H
E		O		T		I		E		H		L
T	O	U	C	H	A	N	D	G	O			
I		E		O		E		R		M		P
D	E	S	E	R	T		H	O	N	O	U	R
E		T		O		A		U		T		O
			B	U	C	K	I	N	G	H	A	M
I		S		G		I		D		B		P
T	A	K	E	H	O	M	E		W	A	R	T
O		I		L		B				L		L
H	O	N	E	Y	P	O	T		S	L	A	Y

Bridge Zia Mahmood

SINCE Harold S Vanderbilt invented contract bridge in the 1920s, many systems of hand valuation have been devised. It might surprise you to know that the present point count — four for an ace, three for a king and so on — was developed fairly late in the day. Before that, people used to value their hands in terms of "quick tricks" or "honour tricks", fractions of which were added and subtracted for length in the trump suit, bare honour holdings and other features of the hand.

But when an American called Milton Work devised the simple 4-3-2-1 system, it swept the board, not because it was more accurate than other methods, but because it was a great deal simpler.

As you make progress at bridge, you'll come to realise that the point count — though fairly reliable — is not always adequate. The problem is that the value it places on certain holdings gives a false picture of their trick-taking potential.

A hand like this:

Q43 J872 Q65 Q73

contains seven points, yet could easily take no tricks at all. Replace all those queens and jacks by an AK combination and you will have the same seven points, but a full two tricks more. And remember that when the scores are being calculated at the end of the hand, you get nothing for how many points you had — only for how many tricks you took.

Experts these days realise that Mr Work's invaluable contribution to theory undervalues the ace, which ought to be counted as five points more often than not, and overvalues the queen and jack, which are often worthless.

I'm not suggesting that you throw away all the bridge books you have on your shelves. But what I am suggesting is that you try to avoid the fate that befell South on today's deal *(see next column)*.

South mechanically counted his points, and arrived at 16. This was better than minimum, so he bid game. But he ought not to have done — the lack of fit for partner, the lack of strength in the long suit, the concentration of honours in clubs were all factors that should have persuaded him that he did not hold any kind of maximum hand. West, who could tell that the hearts were not breaking and that his kings were well placed in defence, taught South the error of his ways with a sharp double, and despite possession of 24 points to his opponents' 16, South could make only six tricks to their seven. That cost him 800 points — and those are the points that matter!

North
♠ 6 4
♥ A 9 5 4 3
♦ A 9
♣ 8 6 4 2

West
♠ K 5 3
♥ K 2
♦ K 10 8 3
♣ J 10 5 3

East
♠ J 10 9 8 7
♥ Q J 10 6
♦ Q 6
♣ 9 7

South
♠ A Q 2
♥ 8 7
♦ J 7 5 4 2
♣ A K Q

South	West	North	East
1NT(1)	Pass	2♦(2)	Pass
2♥	Pass	2NT(3)	Pass
3NT	Dble	Pass	Pass
Pass			

(1) 15-17. (2) Showing a heart suit. (3) Inviting South to bid game with than a minimum hand.

©

The Thought-Fox

I imagine this midnight moment's forest:
Something else is alive
Beside the clock's loneliness
And this blank page where my fingers move.

Through the window I see no star:
Something more near
Though deeper within darkness
Is entering the loneliness:

Cold, delicately as the dark snow,
A fox's nose touches twig, leaf;
Two eyes serve a movement, that now
And again now, and now, and now

Sets neat prints into the snow
Between trees, and warily a lame
Shadow lags by stump and in hollow
Of a body that is bold to come

Across clearings, an eye,
A widening deepening greenness,
Brilliantly, concentratedly,
Coming about its own business

Till, with a sudden sharp hot stink of fox
It enters the dark hole of the head.
The window is starless still; the clock ticks,
The page is printed.

From The Hawk in the Rain (Faber, 1957)

Poet of the spirits of the land

Ted Hughes

EDWARD James Hughes, who died last week after a long battle with cancer was, after W H Auden, arguably the finest English poet of the century. To the public he was best known for being Poet Laureate (the post he held since 1984), as the unlucky husband of the American poet Sylvia Plath, as a writer for children, and as a poet who had an unusual gift for evoking the natural world, especially the lives of animals.

But his public image, if anything, tends to underestimate his actual cultural importance. He was a writer of very wide sympathies and a huge influence on other poets, from Seamus Heaney to R S Thomas. Beyond his surface subject material, any first reader of his work is most likely to be struck by its extreme intensity, a quality it shares with the work of Plath.

Unlike Plath, however, Hughes worked on a much grander canvas. He is perhaps best seen as a critic of the mainstream of Western culture, particularly of the utilitarian rationalism arising from the Enlightenment. In this he is in line with such writers as William Blake, W B Yeats and D H Lawrence. Although his sharp sense of humour has often been insufficiently acknowledged, this owes a lot to the uncompromising texture of the poetry, the sense in which in each poem, it is more than England, more than the West, which is at stake: it is existence itself.

Such an all-embracing, ambitious vision of poetry is easily derided. When he was parodied, affectionately and in a very English way, by Private Eye or Wendy Cope, the parodists would usually draw attention to how, in a Hughes poem, a simple act like drinking a cup of tea would be transformed into an event of shattering, cosmic significance. Nothing could just be casual.

But then Hughes, as a young man, was reacting to a poetic generation who wanted to render everything in a casual manner. The Movement writers who preceded him, such as Donald Davie and Kingsley Amis, had embraced a poetry of deliberately limited aims. Having experienced, as they had seen it, the worst consequences of irrational forces on the loose — romantic nationalism, group hysteria, charismatic dictators — during the second world war, they had naturally sought a more sceptical, commonsensical mode of expression.

Hughes, with some sympathy, describes that exhausted generation as having returned to England, wanting little more than "a nice cigarette and a view of the park". But whatever sympathy, on a personal level, he had for their feelings, he did not extend it into his work, where everything, as he put it, "was up for grabs". While the Movement could blame the rampant phantasmagoria of the unconscious for the war, phantoms which now ought to be repressed, Hughes saw the war as a consequence of the inner warps and wounds of the Western mind, damage he felt ought to be faced and healed.

As a poetic force, Hughes emerged in 1957 with the much-lauded, prize-winning collection The Hawk In The Rain. It was a confident and original beginning; its harsh, sharp, Anglo-Saxon sounding rhythm and diction, its vivid, grandiose imagery and its sheer energy immediately set it apart from contemporaneous work.

The landscape of Hughes's early work, which remained a major inspiration throughout his career, was that of the Yorkshire Pennines where he grew up. Hughes was born in the Calder Valley, in a town with the evocative name of Mytholmroyd. Later he wrote of the bald, unforgiving expanse of the Moors as "a stage/ For the performance of Heaven./ Any audience is incidental". In a manner reminiscent of Wordsworth, his childhood was shadowed over by a 600ft-high scoop face, known as Scout Rock. Hughes, together with his elder brother, Gerald, used to explore the region around the rock and it quickly came to dominate his imagination.

As he later pointed out in his homage to the area, Remains of Elmet, he was conscious how he had grown up in a grievously damaged place: "Gradually it dawned on you that you were living among the survivors, in the remains."

Hughes would also encounter this survivor ethos, in an extreme and troubling form, in Sylvia Plath, his first wife. Hughes met her at a Cambridge literary party in February 1956, and, after a sizzling romance, they were married four months later. It was Plath's drive and organisational abilities, together with the faith she had in his work, which hugely contributed to the publication of The Hawk In The Rain.

A brilliant student, troubled by the early loss of her father, and by the high but confused expectations of those around her, Plath had been fortunate to survive a previous suicide attempt. Initially the stronger poetic force, Hughes made his wide, esoteric reading and his poetic theories and processes available to her. Their inner worlds, to a large degree, converged.

At Cambridge university, Hughes had begun his degree in English, but after two years, discouraged by the course's limited horizons, he switched to anthropology. During his third year, Hughes read much about the role of poetry in primitive societies and immersed himself in folklore. His exposure to such sources remained a very significant influence on all his writing, sometimes accounting for its beguiling obscurity.

Hughes was especially fascinated by the animism of early cultures, their recognition and characterisation of the spirits immanent in things — animals, stones, rivers, trees — an animism which he felt would be a corrective to the damagingly functional Western view of the environment, a view he blamed for the ruined landscape of his childhood.

SUCH themes and influences began to emerge in his second book, Lupercal, published in 1960. Although it was not the most ambitious of his books, Hughes emerged in it as a mature and powerful poet. In Lupercal one finds many of the animal poems for which he is best remembered, his much anthologised evocations of the jaguar, pike and otter, as well as his menacing, mesmeric identification with the hawk roosting high in a tree:

The sun is behind me.
Nothing has changed since I began.
My eye has permitted no change.
I am going to keep things like this.

With the success of Lupercal, Hughes was now recognised as one of the major poets of his generation.

Although Plath had borne him two children, he had gradually become alienated by her mood-swings and jealousy. After beginning an affair with a married woman, Assia Wevill, he separated from Plath. Left in her London flat to bringing up two children alone, Plath became increasingly depressed during the unprecedently harsh winter of 1962-3. It was during this period that she wrote her deeply pessimistic poetic masterpiece, Ariel. She committed suicide in February.

Hughes now entered a somewhat rootless period, with his two children, moving back and forth through the 1960s from Ireland to Devon. The experimental volume Wodwo consolidated the success of Lupercal, but Hughes's personal life was to undergo further trauma with the death of Assia Wevill, and her daughter Shura, in 1969. It was also the year his mother died. These tragedies heavily scorched the poems of his fourth book, Crow, which is most likely to endure and for which he is most famous.

Hughes drew on native American Trickster myths for this slangy, crazy and violently irreverent book. Crow is capable of extreme cruelty, but he is also something of a child, ambiguously embodying the twisted side of 20th century psychology and history. The book was hugely successful, sharing something of the extremely dark humour of such modern classics as Catch-22 and Slaughterhouse Five.

In 1970, Hughes married his second wife Carol Orchard and finally settled in Devon. His personal life became more peaceful, and the work began to lose a little of its intensity. He bought a secluded farm and withdrew from the literary circuit. He continued to produce work of the highest standard, and after 1975's ambitious, experimental narrative Gaudete, his experiences working on the farm were captured in the somewhat underrated 1979 collection Moortown.

Hughes was, along with Philip Larkin and Seamus Heaney, one of the presiding poetic geniuses of the British literary scene. His continuing interest in children's literature, led to his collaboration with Heaney on two anthologies for young readers, The Rattle Bag and The School Bag, as well as his support for new creative talent through the Arvon Foundation.

After becoming Poet Laureate his collections in the 1980s seem to fall off from his earlier heights. Most of the poems he wrote as Laureate are unlikely to be remembered for literary reasons. But many regard his more recent books, Birthday Letters — his unexpected poetic memoir of his marriage to Plath — and his translations in Tales From Ovid as close to his best work.

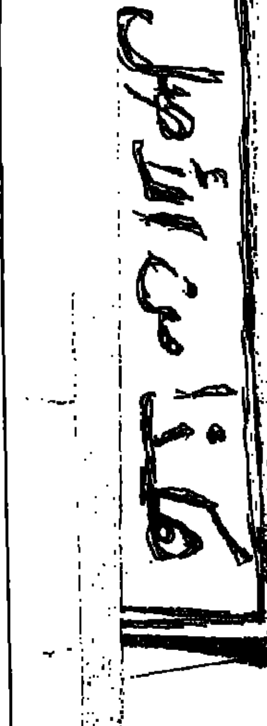
As a poet there is no denying his immense significance. Hughes completely transformed the post-war scene in Britain. He expanded its range of subject matter and lent it several new styles through which it could catch up with the modern world. He renewed its confidence in itself, and encouraged poets to look for universal values in their local landscapes, armed with the vigour of an honest simplicity:

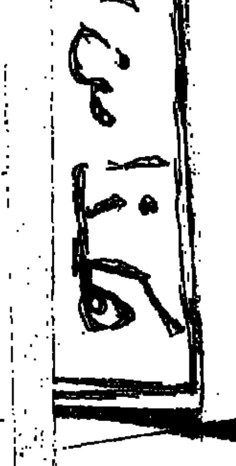
The farm-roots sink in the welter
again, like a whale's fluke.
Sheep fade humbly.
The owl cries eerily, breaking
parole,
With icicles darkening witness.

He is survived by his wife Carol, and a daughter and son from his first marriage.

John Redmond

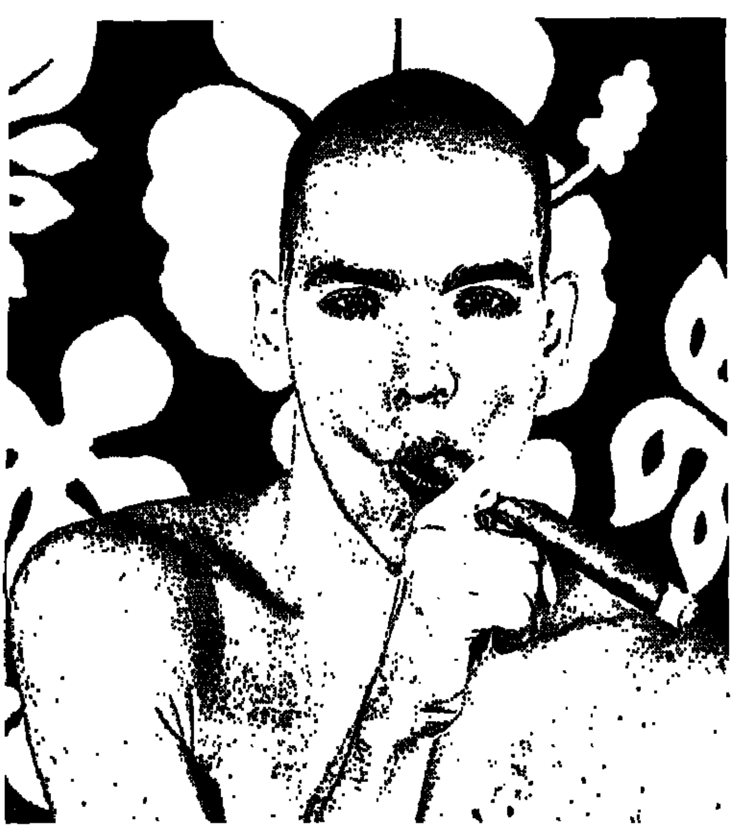
Ted Hughes, poet and critic, born August 17, 1930; died October 28, 1998





A wanton pas de deux

DANCE UMBRELLA FESTIVAL
Judith Mackrell



Javier de Frutos: misjudged indulgence — PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS NASH

THE pas de deux is generally understood to be a highly coded metaphor for sex. But in his new duet, **The Hypochondriac Bird,** at the Queen Elizabeth Hall in London, Javier De Frutos strips away the usual conventions to give us as graphic an image of love-making as we're likely to see in dance. In doing so, he also wickedly chooses two of ballet's greatest lovers, Siegfried and Odette from Swan Lake, as his protagonists.

During the first half of the work this idea is explored with enormous wit and charm. De Frutos and his partner, Jamie Watton, appear on a white-lit stage, entwined in a passionate embrace.

De Frutos looks radiant, his torso ecstatically arched, his arm undulating with the exquisite grace of a Swan Queen. Then, as he and Watton begin to dance, it's not so much steps we see as choreographed variations on the sexual act. The Joy Of Gay Sex, danced.

With mouths, fingers and groin in unambiguous action, the effect is wantonly erotic. Yet, as they coil and twist together, it's also beautiful and at times very funny. The ancient blues songs that are cut into Tchaikovsky's ballet score have been taped from an equally ancient record and, in one very naughty phrase, De Frutos times his pelvic thrusts exactly to the rhythm of a recurring scratch.

As the duet progresses, Watton emerges as the emotional miser, De Frutos as the histrionic diva craving more sex and more love. Some passages are mischievous references to the original ballet, as when De Frutos translates Odette's fluttering footwork into the tremulous quivering of his fingers, thrust into Watton's fly. Yet they are such expressive performers that we always feel their emotions raw on our nerves. Watton is twitchy, a man whose passions are dangerously close to violence, De Frutos is alternately transfigured with happiness and grotesque with need.

Having explored the see-saw dynamic of their relationship, the work disastrously retreats up its own backside, for an apotheosis that's essentially a 25-minute sexual marathon. De Frutos simply runs out of moves. His relentless recycling of the same actions would be numbing even if it were real sex, and we were doing it. Watching it is a chore. De Frutos is a generous, flamboyant performer, sometimes touched by genius; The Hypochondriac Bird is misjudged indulgence.

At the start of his new dance, **Not Garden,** Stephen Petronio gives the audience unequivocal clues about the source of his inspiration — Dante's Inferno. Petronio himself dances a brief intercessionary solo to Gounod's Ave Maria, black letters scroll through the names of Petronio's personal list of the damned (Hitler, Pol Pot, Calvin Klein), and a trio of bowed bodies dance as if weighted by the burden of sin. But when the choreography kicks into Petronio's trademark freneticism, it is hard to distinguish Not Garden from any of his other works.

Apart from the final scene, in which Petronio looms over his dancers like a falling angel, it is hard to draw even oblique connections with Dante. Rather than mining one of the richest narratives in literature, the dancing simply appears to refer to itself.

There are moments of exhilaration: dance phrases sent into crazy reverse, bodies slicing across each other's speeding tracks with hair's breadth timing. There are also grateful moments when Petronio composes slow, beautiful patterns of dance.

For much of its 70-minute duration, though, Petronio recycles the same full-throttle moves. And he never achieves the kind of structure, the variations of dynamic and tone necessary, to sustain a long performance.

Petronio can get from 0 to 60 steps per minute faster than any other choreographer alive. But he lacks the navigational skills to drive his dance on a long voyage, particularly one based on one of the most profoundly symbolic journeys in Western culture.

Dancer's great leap

OBITUARY
Christopher Gable

CHRISTOPHER GABLE, who has died of cancer aged 58, was a dancer, actor, teacher and the man responsible for saving and sustaining England's Northern Ballet Theatre. He continued to be involved with NBT and with London's Central School of Ballet despite his illness.

Born in Hackney, north London, Gable was allowed by his mother to study dancing on condition that he studied the piano at the same time. At the age of 11 he was accepted for the Sadler's Wells (now Royal) Ballet School. On graduation, he had to spend some time with the Sadler's Wells Opera Ballet and the Covent Garden Opera Ballet before John Field took him into the then touring section of the Royal Ballet, where he stayed from 1957 to 1963.

His first big success, and his first major creation with Lynn Seymour, came with Kenneth MacMillan's The Invitation (1960), in which he played the young boy — his youth, charm, and sunny personality ensuring him success. Seymour and Gable were beautifully suited to each other as dancer actors, their bodies responding both technically and emotionally to every demand.

Soon afterwards, Frederick Ashton cast them in The Two Pigeons, one of his most tender and endearing ballets, and the artistic potential of this young partnership was again apparent.

In 1963 Gable transferred to the Royal Ballet company at Covent Garden where, in 1964, MacMillan cast him with Seymour and Nureyev in an episode in Images Of Love, made to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. And a year later MacMillan created his Romeo And Juliet on Seymour and Gable — although cruelly they were robbed of the première (and the Paul Czinner film) by box office considerations which dictated that Fonteyn and Nureyev should be the first to dance the ballet. When Seymour and Gable did perform as second cast they left no doubt as to the inspiration the choreographer had gained from creating with them.

In 1967 Gable, who had been suffering from osteo-arthritis in his feet and was also unhappy about some Royal Ballet policies, decided to pursue an acting career, and he studied as assiduously for the theatre as he had done for the ballet. On stage, he was Lysander in Peter Brook's A Midsummer Night's Dream for the Royal Shakespeare Company, and he worked at the Royal Exchange Theatre, Manchester, for several seasons. He also did a considerable amount of television work.

In 1982 Gable co-founded, with Ann Stannard, the Central School of Ballet, a vocational school based in Clerkenwell, where his wife, Carole Needham, a former dancer with the Royal Ballet, was (and is) one of the principal teachers. In 1987 Gillian Lynne enticed him from retirement to take the leading role in A Simple Man, made for a BBC dance drama commissioned by the City of Salford to celebrate L S Lowry's centenary. Gable's portrait of the painter was uncannily realistic. In spring 1987 the ballet was taken into the NBT repertory and was one of the company's greatest successes. Gable was then invited to become artistic director.

The fortunes and the artistic reputation of NBT were then at a low ebb, and not long after Gable's appointment the Arts Council threatened to close it down. An impassioned plea and pledge of support from Gillian Lynne, and an outcry among critics, led to a stay of execution.

While continuing to co-direct the school, and nurturing young talent which might graduate to the NBT, Gable developed a repertory which has brought NBT great popular success.

Gable received the CBE in 19[illegible] and in 1997-98, his 10th anniversary year as artistic director, an honorary degree from Bradford university. Gable, Lynne once observed, was the only performer she knew who could "totally integrate acting and movement so they become indivisible . . . he is quite simply the best".

Mary Clarke

Christopher Michael Gable, dancer and actor, born March 13, 1940, died October 23, 1998

Singing along with the five-year plan

CINEMA
Gaby Wood

THE SOCIALIST artist, Lenin once said, must dream. But what may he dream about? East Side Story: The Story Of Socialist Musicals is a documentary which investigates, through song and dance, the risks of fantasy.

A Soviet musical sounds an impossible idea — after all, musicals were seen as "the flagrant offspring of the capitalist pleasure industry". One can hardly imagine that useful instruction would be taken from How To Marry A Millionaire, or hear factory workers chorusing Diamonds Are A Girl's Best Friend. And it's difficult to envisage, as the film-makers put it, "singing along with the five-year plan".

But between 1934 and 1973, about 40 musicals were made in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, which have never before been seen in the West.

East Side Story was made by Andrew Horn, a young American whose undergraduate film thesis was nominated for an Oscar, and Dana Ranga, a Romanian film-maker who lives in Berlin. "Some of these films are even good," the production notes say rather glumly. Some of them, to judge on this evidence, are quite wonderful.

Grigorii Aleksandrov was a film-maker who went to Hollywood with Eisenstein. He made friends with Chaplin and hung around for a few years but eventually returned and, in 1934, made an all-singing, all-dancing, all-Russian movie called The Jolly Fellows. It was banned but with the support of Maxim Gorky, Aleksandrov took the film to Stalin and, in what must be one of the most ambiguous expressions of approval, Stalin said: "Anyone who dares to make a movie as humorous as this must be a brave man."

The film earned Aleksandrov a military medal, and Stalin encouraged more in the same vein. They were forms of propaganda, clearly, but they were also fairy tales: happiness was labour, smiling blondes sang forth from factory floors and baritones drove tractors.

Ranga and Horn tell us that the musical Volga, Volga was Stalin's favourite film — he saw it 100 times, and presented a copy to Roosevelt as a gift. Stalin was so supportive of musicals, apparently, that the genre came to be inextricably associated with him: after his death they could no longer be made in the Soviet Union. But soon enough, the DEFA, the film industry of the as yet unwalled East Germany, found it was losing its audiences to the West. The public wanted to see American-style entertainment films, and the DEFA had to win them back.

Soviet musicals then entered a new phase — they were not led by propaganda, they were in colour, they were commissioned. In 1958, My Wife Wants To Sing became an instant hit. But although it had been requested, the film was blacklisted because it treated "life and art like a bourgeois fantasy". The old question burned: of what could a socialist artist legitimately dream?

As stars and diamonds crept into the fantasies of the socialist film-going public, the story of these movies became more than the story of entertainment. Escapism could no longer be kept within the confines of the communist ethic, and musicals were as good a historical litmus as any.

As Midnight Revue was being filmed, the Berlin Wall was under construction through the director's backyard. Film-makers found themselves in a double bind: they were being asked to make entertainment films by the very organisation that inevitably banned them. So they wrote a script about it. In an exhilaratingly cynical inversion of the Judy Garland and Mickey Rooney "putting on a show" films, Midnight Revue has four film-makers kidnapped and forced to make a musical. They sing Too Hot To Handle, a song about the dangers of the genre.

Many of the clips seen here have this element of almost postmodern self-consciousness. They sing about getting to the happy ending, completely overt about what the genre is doing.

Were Eastern Bloc musicals in fact more honest than their American prototypes? Musicals, it has often been argued, were always there to take people's minds off harsher things. In the United States the Depression gave birth to Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. Gene Kelly was singing throughout McCarthy's witchhunts. And in the Soviet bloc the job of the musical was to provide a happy ending.

Although the Soviet musical seems at first a contradiction in terms, the musicals actually had many overlaps with the Hollywood originals. The East German director of My Wife Wants To Sing was blacklisted, accused of "Amerikanismus". Only a few years earlier, attempts had been made to blacklist Gene Kelly, accused of the opposite: Un-Americanism, that is, communist activity. The Iron Curtain, it turns out, was only a silver screen.

Classical CDs

Andrew Clements

Schnittke: The Complete String Quartets Kronos Quartet (Nonesuch 7559-79500-2) (2 CDs) £27.49
Cello Concerto; Stille Musik; Cello Sonata Kliegel/Havenith/Godhoff/Saarbrücken Radio Symphony/Markson (Naxos 8.554465) £4.99
Complete Works For Cello And Piano Ivashkin/Schnittke (Chandos CHAN 9705) £14.99
Piano Music Boris Berman (Chandos CHAN 9704) £14.99

THERE **are some composers whose final place in the history of 20th century music is hard to predict, and Alfred Schnittke, who died in August, may be one of the toughest of them all.**

Currently, his music is very widely played, as the performers for whom he wrote have championed his cause most faithfully, and there is certainly plenty of it to programme — the disabling strokes Schnittke suffered in the last decade of his life seemed to fuel his need to compose ever more prolifically. But getting a grip on all that music is very difficult — pin down one work, and another comes along to confound your expectations. There is the true heir to the bleak, haunted world of late Shostakovich; the playful master of borrowing and allusion (whose tapestries of quotations instigated the musical term "polystylisticism" in an attempt to pigeonhole him); and, especially early in his career, the reluctant modernist. Rather too often there is also the composer whose music seems to drift aimlessly between these tendencies, resorting to note-spinning and textural thinness rather than asserting a personality of its own.

All of those facets are represented in this clutch of issues. The Kronos compilation of string quartets encapsulates them all in superb performances; the First Quartet is a 12-note work, the Third, composed in 1983, the epitome of his polystylistic style, lacing the textures with references to Beethoven, Wagner and Shostakovich, and the Fourth (1989) a lengthy, brooding elegy on physical and spiritual loss.

As an introduction to the span of Schnittke's career, the collection could hardly be bettered, while the Naxos performance of his 1986 Cello Concerto, superbly delivered, offers a convincing demonstration of his ability to build large-scale, self-sustaining orchestral structures.

That disc also includes a fine account of the First Cello Sonata, which is naturally part of Alexander Ivashkin's survey, along with the Second and some smaller, peripheral pieces.

Berman's piano disc is the most dispensable, not because the playing is inadequate — far from it — but because the piano never seemed to touch Schnittke's emotional core in the way the strings did; his keyboard writing is splashy and contrived, with hardly a trace of the fractured lyricism from which his best music draws its power.

If you would like to order any of these CDs contact CultureShop (p&p 99p, see ad on page 33)

My bung is on the dung

TURNER PRIZE
Adrian Searle

THE clocks have gone back: it must be time for the Turner Prize. The competition has settled into the calendar alongside Halloween and Bonfire Night as a traditional autumnal fixture in British cultural life. It's so successful that Hugo Boss has emulated it in the United States.

The Boss Award was won this year by 1996 Turner winner Douglas Gordon, who was handed a fat cheque and a commemorative knick-knack by Dennis Hopper. Gordon tried to give Hopper a Euro-style kiss on being handed the award. Hopper stepped smartly away: he'd seen Trainspotting, and knew what a Glasgow Kiss might entail.

Being shortlisted for the Turner is better than a smack in the mouth, but it's still a trial by media. There's a danger that the British public is actually getting comfortable with contemporary art. Writers no longer feel obliged to explain what installations are, what conceptual art is, or why films and videos can be art. The Turner must take some credit for this accommodation to the avant-garde, but it's debatable whether familiarity is the same thing as serious interest.

In terms of popularity alone, painter Chris Ofili ought to win this year's prize. His recent travelling solo show at London's Serpentine Gallery has drawn more than 35,000 visitors in less than a month, around 3,000 crowding into the tiny space each Sunday. This is more than rubber-necking. He's a serious black artist who is taken seriously and whose work is accessible, which is in itself a great leap forward for multicultural Britain. For all their decorative and ornamental impulses, Ofili's obsessively glittered, dotted, doodled, spiralled and patterned paintings are more than the sum of their borrowings.

At the Tate review of the Turner Prize nominees, he is showing a couple of his Captain Shit cartoon-superhero paintings, an ornamental pink flower painting, some large female portraits and the dizzying psychedelic Afrodizzia.



Cathy de Monchaux's Never Forget the Power of Tears . . . Her work is a delicate gastronomy of S&M bad taste — PHOTO MARTIN GODWIN

The work that will grab most of the attention is a large head-and-shoulders profile, No Woman No Cry. The title comes from a Bob Marley song: the pose is a reversed, black, unhappy cousin to the National Gallery's 1465 Portrait Of A Lady In Yellow by Alesso Baldovinitti. Ofili's woman is crying. In each blue teardrop is a little cameo portrait, like a keepsake in a locket. The face belongs to the murdered student Stephen Lawrence. The painting could be crass, but it is very sad and stoical and affecting.

Ofili is in a difficult position. The first black British artist to make it on to the shortlist, he is also the only painter and the only man to be selected. Has he peaked too soon? After so much recent exposure (including being a runner-up for this year's Jerwood Prize) people might say "Done dung" and move on. The elephant droppings have lost their initial shock and are the least interesting aspect of Ofili's developing style. They've become just another colour on the palette.

Ofili may be favourite to win, but Sam Taylor-Wood's movie and her 360-degree photos are very impressive. Her split-screen film installation, Atlantic, won a prize at the 1997 Venice Biennale. Set in the restaurant of the Atlantic Bar and Grill in central London, Taylor-Wood's film homes in on a couple arguing at a table. It's hardly My Dinner With Andre, but a compelling tableau all the same, playing on our fascination with overheard conversations.

Taylor-Wood's work is almost entirely voyeuristic. The world we're looking in on is her own, a world of the rich, the louche, the stylish and fashionable. The Five Revolutionary Seconds photos are 360-degree photos shot in loft-style apartments and well-heeled flats. What starts out as annoyance with the smug clannishness of the Young British Artists crowd gives way to something a lot darker. A girl dances in the corner. A semi-naked man looms on the stairs and a guy in spiked heels and bondage gear hides his identity under a feather boa beside the piano. A Tonka truck trundles across the floor towards him.

These are the everyday afternoons of the demi-monde. You scan the images as you might wander about the flat of a stranger. You feel like you're there. The feel of these photographs is a nineties update of David Hockney's seventies vanity movie A Bigger Splash. The question is whether this work is narcissism or a critique. Maybe it's both. She's no Jane Austen, but her work is very much a play on modern manners, and she has a sharp eye for period — our period — detail.

Tacita Dean is obsessed by the sea. She's re-showing Disappearance At Sea, her 1996 film of a lighthouse at the onset of evening on the north-east coast; a series of chalk drawings on blackboards; and Gellert, a new short movie filmed in a famous Budapest bath-house. Dean's use of the baths parallels a 1997 film by Polish artist Katarzyna Kozyra, which was filmed in the same location, using the same subject, but with a hidden camera. A letter from the director of Kozyra's Warsaw gallery, published in October's Art Monthly, is a veiled accusation of plagiarism. Dean claims to have been entirely ignorant of Kozyra's film. The lighting and ambience of Dean's little film has the atmosphere of certain paintings by Edward Hopper.

The weak point of the show is Cathy de Monchaux's room of sculptures. Her confections of gothic, pointy brass fittings, talced rubber orifices, gristly, grisly folds and clitoral claws pall by repetition. Her theatrical installations just don't make it as sculpture. Ooh-er, you say, looking at the tortured little men on an Addams Family barbecue rack. Her work is a delicate gastronomy of S&M bad taste, and it has sadly lost its allure for me, even though her newest work seems to be moving in a new direction.

The winner will be announced on December 1.

Banished to the boondocks

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

IF YOU leave Coronation Street (ITV), the punishment is ruthless. They send you somewhere that sounds funny. Not Oswaldtwistle or Barnoldswick, of course. Somewhere funny down south. (EastEnders conversely sends malcontents to Newcastle.)

Liz McDonald (Beverly Callard), whose skirt is shorter than her husband's temper, is leaving Coronation Street after nearly 10 years. Jim McDonald is now in a wheelchair and Michael, his physio, has been looking yearningly at Liz like a dog spotting a very boney bone.

To end this sad affair, Michael has applied for a job in Milton Keynes. Simmer down at the back there. Milton Keynes is full of fascinating people. The deputy health minister said recently that there is a part-time dinner lady in Milton Keynes who isn't interested in feminism and probably doesn't know what it is. She sounds all right. And there's Big George, who wrote that wonderfully signature tune for Have I Got News For You. He counts as two. (I begin to feel like Abraham who struggled to find 10 just men in Sodom.) There is something about Milton Keynes that sets the scriptwriters off. They can't resist the name. "I've applied for a new job in Milton Keynes . . .", "Michael had an interview for a new job in Milton Keynes . . ." Being written out of Coronation Street is like transportation. One moment you are all cosy and the next you are in Kuala Lumpur. Raquel, beautiful and good, was cruelly packed off to Kuala Lumpur. It is part of the painful sense of loss that you can't quite place Kuala Lumpur.

Or Lowestoft. Reg, the manager of Bettabuys, who had such a good double act going with Curly, was heartlessly deported to Lowestoft, which I seem to associate with the wind in the rigging and the wild cry of the herring gull. As for Curly, he's been sent to Kuala Lumpur too.

Will Liz follow Michael to the bright lights of Milton Keynes as Bess followed her lover in Porgy And Bess? Will Jim follow them in his wheelchair like Porgy to save Liz from a life of shame? Of course not.

There is a kind of comedy which hits you like a shock wave. When Mel Brooks said he was writing a film called Springtime For Hitler . . . When Jerry Della Femina suggested From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor as an advertising campaign for Japanese electronics . . . When Billy Connolly danced in incontinence knickers, people actually fell off their chairs.

There is a point in a great comic's act when the audience are so disabled with laughter, he could move among them removing their wallets. In Thirty Years of Billy Connolly (BBC1), you saw that Joanna Lumley, Bob Hoskins and Jimmy Tarbuck could have put up no resistance whatsoever.

In 1975 Michael Parkinson introduced him as "someone who means very little down here". Connolly responded with the story of the man who buried his wife but left her bum out as he needed somewhere to park his bike. After that his name on the guest list was worth two million extra viewers.

He is, as Parkinson said fondly, a mad bugger so it's a bit of luck that his comedienne wife is now a psychiatrist. She said he was a battle-scarred man from an appalling, abusive childhood. Billy's father once described him as looking like a tramp keeking out of a hayloft. A turn of phrase which makes you to wonder if, along with the odd black eye, he didn't give his son a ricocheting Celtic imagination. Nowadays the beard is grey — like, he confides, his pubic hair.

The most tantalising testimonial came from a young boy, who said, "My mum likes him a lot and my dad does as well. And my mum's boyfriend is a great fan of his." The shrewdest question came from fellow comedian Eddie Izzard: "Ask him if he writes it down." He doesn't. "I never, ever write material down because, if I do, it's not very good. The stuff I just make up has a sort of ballsy edge to it."

Watching The Life of Birds (BBC1) I was reminded of this. Birds of prey, circling at 1,000ft, never look down and think: "Oh my God, I'm done for! There's nothing there!" They feel the comforting thermals under their wings. Connolly, on stage with no visible means of support, is lifted on warm gusts of laughter.

Arafat's moral failure

Malise Ruthven

Arafat: From Defender to Dictator
by Said K Aburish
Bloomsbury 360pp £20

"*IF THE* Israelis were really clever," a desperate British adviser in Gaza tells David Hare in Via Dolorosa, "they would give the Palestinians every inch of land they want, and then stand by and watch them fuck it up."

Palestinian genius and failure are incarnated in Yasser Arafat. For nearly three decades his bulging eyes, designer stubble and watery lips — and Arab headdress immaculately folded to resemble the map of Palestine — have filled the world's screens proclaiming the rights of his dispossessed people. After a lifetime of struggle, the Leader in Exile, the archetypal terrorist-turned-statesman, has returned as President of the Palestine Authority, the forerunner of the Palestinian state. But this is no story of liberation. The capacity in which Arafat has come to power, the role he occupies, is one of peculiarly Middle Eastern complexity, where cynicism and idealism, passion and realpolitik, meet in equal portions. Lining the pockets of his entourage with Western aid, his primary function is to act as Israel's policeman in those parts of the formerly Occupied Territories the Israelis could no longer reach.

In the cruellest of many ironies, Arafat came to power as a result of the one Palestinian revolution with which he had very little to do. The intifada, a spontaneous uprising led by children, succeeded in influencing world opinion, where years of "armed struggle" had failed. The image of the Palestinian as terrorist was replaced by that of a child being beaten by an Israeli soldier.

How did this extraordinary denouement come about? As Said Aburish explains in this thoroughly researched account, Arafat is relatively uneducated. As a political strategist he was brilliant, but on broad geopolitical questions he lacks sophistication. During the years of exile after the 1967 war, his instincts, courage and persistence made him a highly effective leader. Arafat understands the value of the "propaganda of the deed". Just as Israel exploited the feelings of guilt and solidarity among US Jews, so the PLO benefited from the wealth and influence of Palestinians in the Gulf.

Aburish convincingly argues that the strategy of engagement with Israel from Gaza and Jordan before 1970 was sound and could have been made to work. The challenge to King Hussein of Jordan, which forced him to act against the Palestinians, was a military disaster, but it effectively severed the link between the Occupied Territories and the Hashemite monarchy. Even the disastrous civil war in Lebanon left the PLO intact, while tarnishing Israel's image in the West.

Arafat's failure has been moral rather than strategic. Though not personally corrupt — he neither drinks nor smokes and works an 18-hour day — even in Lebanon he surrounded himself with spivs and sycophants, who preferred the bars and brothels of Beirut to political struggle. Above all, during the years of quasi-government in exile he neglected the new politically sophisticated leadership in the West Bank. Swayed by populist sentiment during the Gulf crisis of 1990-91, he foolishly supported Saddam Hussein when even Hamas was calling for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

The result was bankruptcy as the Gulf states withdrew funding from the PLO. Desperate to secure a peace, and his own position, he was forced to the conference table with no bargaining chips. Installed (in effect by the Israelis) under the Oslo accords, he heads an administration in which torture and corruption appear to be the rule. The last of his able and decent West Bank ministers, Hanan Ashrawi, recently deserted him.

When a new leadership emerges in the wake of his rapidly advancing disease, it will come, Aburish hopes, from Ashrawi and her colleagues Haidar Abdul Shafi and Faisal Husseini, and not from the corrupt coterie currently surrounding the "President".



Poetic licence . . . Paul Muldoon refuses to rest on the laurels of previous successes PHOTO: PHILIP SINDEN

A map of life's detour

Tim Kendall

Hay
by Paul Muldoon
Faber 140pp £14.99 (£7.99 pbk)

PAYING generous tribute to his friend and compatriot, Seamus Heaney has praised Paul Muldoon for "changing the rules of the game". Muldoon, in Heaney's account, is a pioneer whose work pushes back (or ignores altogether) the boundaries of what poetry can achieve.

Despite such advocacy, Muldoon has still not reached a readership much beyond the coteries. His refusal to rest on the laurels of previous successes ensures that each new book frustrates audience expectations, and sometimes outslips even his most committed admirers. For sceptics, changing the rules looks nothing more than a form of cheating.

Those critics ought to be won over by the brio of his eighth full-length collection, Hay. Sex on pool tables, the stench of his dead cat, the onset of middle-aged spread and his gratifyingly awful record collection — nothing seems unworthy of Muldoon's attention. All gets conveyed with the usual virtuoso flair. The long poem which opens the book and the 30-sonnet sequence which ends it share the same rhymes. In the final sequence, sonnets one and 30, two and 29 and so on act as companion pieces, mirroring each other's rhymes.

Occasionally the strain shows: Muldoon has never appeared more deserving of his reputation for being able to rhyme "knife" and "fork". Usually, however, the technical mastery is astonishing. On its own, this might seem flashy, nothing more than — in Muldoon's own phrase — the minor aplomb of a trick cyclist. Yet the doublings of the rhyme schemes embody Hay's more general obsession with twins and doppelgängers, mirrors, parallel lives and return journeys.

"Between Takes" emphasises this theme by rhyming "double" with itself; other poems conspicuously reiterate phrases. The brutal sonnet "Lag" opens: "We were joined at the hip. We were joined at the hip / like some latterday Chang and Eng." What begins by sounding like desirable intimacy soon degenerates into claustrophobia, violence and self-destruction:

It was Chang, I seem to recall,
who tried to choke
Eng when he'd had one over the
eight.
It was Chang whose breath was
always so sickly-sour.
It was Chang who suffered a stroke.
Eng was forced to shoulder his
weight.
It was Chang who died first. Eng
lived on for five hours.

"Lag" seems more reminiscent of early Muldoon than most of Hay: as the poet acknowledges, early in his career he mastered the knack of writing in "that great, open hand" while "never quite showing my hand".

No longer an enfant terrible and not yet an elder statesman, Muldoon is beginning to develop a style which relaxes more and conceals less. The trademark irony ("Only the guy who's shot / gets to ride in the back of the hearse") now exists alongside slap-your-thigh jokes.

We also see more of domestic Muldoon than before. The love poem "Long Finish" celebrates his 10th wedding anniversary, charting the "soars and slumps in the Dow" of the relationship. His tone of mature reflection contrasts with the naughtiness of the poem's twin, "Green Gown", where the pool table becomes the prop on which the poet seduces (or is seduced by) his first wife.

Muldoon's new-found expansiveness does sometimes come at a cost. The 90 "Hopewell Haiku", for all their exquisite delights, still seem like 80 too many. One or two other poems, such as the excruciatingly sexual "Little Black Book" ("Her weakness for the whip between her legs", etc), were best left unpublished, if not unwritten.

But these exceptions should not detract from the success of Muldoon's stylistic shift, which seems inspired by geography as well as emotional contentment. The distinction between old and new is also between the Old World of Belfast and the New World of Princeton, between the sexual adventures of youth and the marital stability of middle age, and, perhaps most importantly, between the atrocities which still haunt Muldoon's poetry and the tranquil idyll of New Jersey's landscape.

Muldoon has previously told the story of how his father, as a young man, once planned to emigrate to Australia. The collection's crowning achievement, the concluding sonnet-sequence, "The Bangle (Slight Return)" toys with the possibilities of that alternative history, where the poet would never have been born.

As the characteristically grumpy epigraph from E M Cioran asks, "If it is true that by death we once more become what we were before being, would it not have been better to abide by that pure possibility, not to stir from it?" The sequence's wacky-profound explorations of free will, cause and effect, and the nature of time set about defending the "detour" of life against Cioran. They also reaffirm Muldoon's inclusion among the few significant poets of our half-century.

If you would like to order Hay in paperback at a special price of £6.99 contact CultureShop (see page 33)

Crime

Lucretia Stewart

A Sight For Sore Eyes, by Ruth Rendell (Hutchinson £16.99)

RUTH Rendell's writing is getting steadily worse. She can't mean us to take this book seriously, but she has never been one for the light touch, which is what you need to bring off this kind of grotesquerie. The main character is a dysfunctional but incredibly handsome young man called Teddy Brex. After a deprived childhood in the family from hell, Brex grows up to be what might, in less liberal times, have been described as "abnormal", only he is so handsome that no one notices. Then Teddy meets the beautiful Francine Hill who, as a child, was unfortunate enough to be at home the day her mother was murdered. Now, under the smothering care of an over-protective stepmother who was previously her shrink, she seems fine. Teddy and Francine, as you may be able to imagine (though perhaps not with Rendell's gothic intensity), make a lovely couple. For a while that is — until, of course, it all goes horribly and messily wrong.

"N" for Noose, by Sue Grafton (Macmillan, £16.99)

THOSE of us who can count beyond 10 have already worked out that "N" is the 14th letter in the alphabet and have also begun to wonder how on earth Sue Grafton is going to make it through all 26 letters. The strain is beginning to tell on both Grafton and her feisty P I heroine, Kinsey Millhone. In this book, Kinsey is cold in the Sierra Nevada, having taken on a troublesome case which her lover, Robert Dietz, was unable to accept because he is recovering from knee-replacement surgery. Why was universally loved Tom Newquist depressed in the weeks leading up to his death? Even Kinsey finds it hard to care, and she's getting paid to. "N" is for Nonsense more like it.

False Pretences, by Margaret Yorke (Little, Brown, £15.99)

OF ALL those eager-beaver writers who produce a book a year, Margaret Yorke is one of the most satisfying. Her short, sparse accounts of things going wrong and innocent people getting caught up in events beyond their control never fail to induce a powerful sense of apprehension and foreboding. In False Pretences, Isabel Vernon, trapped in a marriage long gone stale, finds herself unexpectedly landed with an orphaned goddaughter whom she can barely remember. This has all sorts of consequences, some of them disastrous.

The House of Women, by Alison Taylor (Heinemann, £15.99)

CAREFUL, complex, intelligent, oddly absorbing story which is only incidentally a mystery but is really a novel about a houseful of women in Wales and their relationships with each other and the policeman who happens into their lives. Chronically ill Ned Jones lives with his distant relation, Edith, one of the members of the house of women. When he is found dead one hot August day, his death turns out to be far from straightforward. Unusually for a detective story, it is the characterisation and the writing, even more than the plot, that hold the attention.

Hype springs eternal

Peter Conrad

A Man in Full
by Tom Wolfe
Jonathan Cape 742pp £20

THE brash, skyscraping egos of America love to build monuments to themselves. In his second novel, Tom Wolfe surveys the skyline of Atlanta, the country's latest mushroom metropolis, and notes that those spires of ghostly, uninhabited glass are sustained by nothing more than speculative puffery. Atlanta's developers are "hypnomaniac" self-advertisers like Wolfe's Charles Croker, who fancies that he has annexed the universe by means of a multinational company grandiosely known as Croker Global. A Man In Full, narrating Croker's financial disgrace and his gratuitous redemption, promises to fill out the figure of the tycoon and his parvenu society. But this over-hyped blockbuster ends as the inflated, flatulent image of the vices it supposedly decries.

Between 1965 and 1976, in a series of books extending from The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby to Mauve Gloves & Madmen, Clutter & Vine, Wolfe zappily reinvented the art of reportage. Then he made a fatal, hubristic error, exchanging lowly journalism for fiction. His Bonfire Of The Vanities should have been a waspish essay on the fickle consumerism and institutional venality of the eighties; instead, predicting apocalypse in a Manhattan overrun by Reaganite yuppies, it lunged towards grandeur and became tall — like a jumped-up skyscraper — by walking on stilts. On that basis of that single, lucrative act of pretension, Wolfe's publishers now salute him as "our most admired novelist", which slights Updike, Pynchon, DeLillo, Vidal and a dozen others.

Emboldened by such fawning, Wolfe reappears after a decade's silence with A Man In Full, which gluttonously strains to gobble up the contemporary world by stuffing itself with journalistic controversies and disasters. Croker is explicitly modelled on Robert Maxwell. A sub-plot features an insolent black athlete, like Mike Tyson and O J Simpson joined at the groin, accused of raping a white socialite. Across the continent, the San Francisco earthquake creakily facilitates another plot.

Tom Wolfe . . . sabotaged by vanity PHOTOGRAPH OUTLINE/KATZ

The title gives notice of Wolfe's ambition to take on the entire history of the form; from Fielding's Tom Jones to Musil's Man Without Qualities, the novel's bravest aim has been to tell the whole truth about individuals. Wolfe can weigh Croker, who tips the scales at 235 pounds, and tabulate his assets in a numbing numerical ledger: he owns 29,000 acres of Georgia forest, along with 59 nags, 22 mules and 40 gundogs. He also happens to owe the bank half a billion greenbacks. Yet Croker, like his debts, is a row of exponentiating, empty zeros.

Then Croker announces his redemption at a press conference, but because there is nothing inside him, Wolfe cannot make his change of heart plausible — unless you are prepared to believe that this brawling, semi-literate jock would really have reassessed his life after reading Epictetus.

Has there been writing as coarse as this — as vulgar and violent, as otiosely overdone, as flushed with ugly, crimson tumescence — since the heyday of Mickey Spillane, whose PI, Mike Hammer, indifferently brutalised men, women and the English language? This is a book whose very typography can give you an earache. Wolfe's style is the equivalent of a ghetto blaster. Giving up the effort to use words expressively, he relies on amps — silently conjured up by tabloid capitals and inky italics — to hype his meaning. A telephone rings, and Wolfe mimics it: *"Trrrilll"*. (He does this 12 times because, I suppose, the phone goes on ringing.) A fight between convicts begins with the pummelled loser squealing "Awwwhhhhhh!" Then he screams "AHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHH!" Finally he screeches *"ahhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh"*. This time there are fewer consonants and no exclamation mark, but the italics presumably vouch for an intenser agony.

Another American talent, alas, has been sabotaged by vanity and cupidity. No wonder Jonathan Cape has A Man In Full under pre-publication embargo: it should stay there.

A Geordie in hell

Natasha Walter

Another World
by Pat Barker
Viking 278pp £16.99

PAT BARKER'S new novel is about the power of old wounds to leak into the present. How do we know? Because she tells us so, quite clearly, not far into the book, and the same phrase also appears on the cover blurb in case we missed it. The interlinked plots of her novel press the point home: our central narrator is Nick, a well-meaning Newcastle teacher. But much of the novel centres on his grandfather, Geordie, who is deeply disturbed by his memories of the trenches, where he thinks he killed his own brother. Then there is the Victorian ghost that flits through Nick's house, which turns out to be the apparition of a young girl who was once suspected of killing her brother. And there is Nick's stepson, Gareth, who, in a reprise of all these past traumas, becomes inexplicably aggressive towards his baby brother.

All these plots are neat, inventive devices. But the parallels between them are peculiarly forced, and Barker seems to have trouble just getting them on to the page — she relies on Nick reading a book with the story of the Victorian ghost in it, and then she relies heavily on quotations from another book in which Geordie tells his story, in order to explain events clearly. So the wheels of the plot turn clunkily, and you feel her carefully slotting the pieces into place rather than diving into the stuff of her characters' lives.

That is surprising, because in the past Barker has shown an easy, unforced confidence in handling the most disparate material. In her Regeneration trilogy, which explored the experiences of soldiers in the first world war, and in her early novels which explored working-class women's lives in northern England, Pat Barker showed that she was a novelist with her own, surprisingly powerful voice. It found a vigorous poetry both in working-class and in middle-class British speech.

But that linguistic energy seems to have failed Pat Barker here. In order to force a real contrast between the present and the past, she writes most of this novel in the present tense, dropping into the past tense only for people's memories. That leads her into a sloppy, flat rendering of her characters' thoughts. They think in tones of constant exasperation. Barker paints a picture of modern family life that is, perhaps, true, in its close, warm chaos, but it is also claustrophobic in its unrelieved rendering of petty irritations: the husband longing for a drink, the wife for sleep, the son for his computer games.

Barker has previously shown an understated brilliance in using a patchwork structure, but here she flicks away from each individual too quickly before we have a chance to hear their voice or feel their presence. Each one pulls in a separate emotional direction — Nick, who is tending to his dying grandfather; his daughter Miranda, wrapped up in fears about her mad mother; his current wife Fran, who is grappling with her crazy son, and Gareth himself, with his terror of school bullies. As each one comes forward and lays a claim on your sympathy a sense of frustration grows in the reader. Barker seems to have laid out her plot without ever finding its emotional centre, and somehow that feels exploitative. How many family traumas are we expected to witness? How many tears are we expected to shed for each character?

IT IS ONLY, really, in the tale of Nick's grandfather Geordie that Barker seems to plunge into the individual richness of a man's life. Year after year, we are told, Geordie would wake crying in the night, and his wife would sit and sing to him: "She used to sit on the bed beside me and get hold of me hands and sing . . . Keep yor feet still, Geordie lad! And dinnet drive me bonny dreams away." Geordie's legacy of guilt arose partly from his confused relationship with his brother and partly from his unbearable experiences in the trenches, and Barker knits the two together into a disturbing whole. His death is an ungentle, painful one, shot with emotional and physical agony. "I am in hell," he whispers as he dies. In moments like this, we glimpse the fiery talent we have seen in Barker's previous books, and her ability to render something of the complicated passions of ordinary life.

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £14 contact CultureShop

Beaten to death by democracy

Stephanie Merritt

The Gabriel Club
by Joydeep Roy-Bhattacharya
Granta 416pp £15.99

"*IT'S JUST LIKE* in the old days!" cries a heckler at a lecture in the new Budapest early in The Gabriel Club. "Nothing's changed, just younger faces." The failure of what came after communism is the timely theme of this ambitious and weighty first novel.

What happened to the dream of freedom, and whether a democratic Hungary, in which of skinheads can beat a Gypsy puppeteer to death in a busy street, is preferable to a communist one are the questions faced by the members of the Gabriel Club. The club is a group of three dissident poets — Andras, Stefan, Janos — and the musician Immanuele, who band together in the mid-seventies in a non-violent protest against the communist regime. They translate Kafka, Beckett and other banned works, circulate their own poetry and are hounded at every step by Szegedy, a police officer and the brother of Janos, who is driven to violent suicide.

The novel opens with extracts from the diary of Immanuele, whose disappearance in 1976 was never explained. The narrative then shifts to 1994 when Andras, who has become a successful writer, returns to Budapest after a self-imposed exile. As Immanuele's former lover, he is called on to identify a body found floating in the Danube. It turns out to be not a corpse but a grotesquely convincing waxwork of Immanuele as a young woman. The case of her disappearance is reopened, with Szegedy in charge of the investigation; Andras and Stefan are forced to confront the past.

The Gabriel Club is an absorbing story, though the book becomes infected by its characters' despair. Stefan, the radical poet, is an especially tragic figure; the freedom he fought for turns out to be at best insipid and, in middle age, with nothing obvious to struggle against, his poetry loses direction and dries up.

But the author creates a firm sense of time and place; he evokes Budapest and its people with sympathy and intimate detail. Sadly, it appears that this novel's political relevance is in no danger of fading.

ORDER FORM

To order any book reviewed or any book in print, simply fill in this form and post or fax it to us at the address below.

	Book title	Price	p&p	Total
1.		£	£	£
2.		£	£	£
3.		£	£	£
4.		£	£	£

I enclose a UK/Eurocheque for £ ________ to Guardian Weekly Books or debit my Access/Visa/Mastercard/AmEx/Switch N° ________ Switch Issue N° ________

Mrs/Ms/Mr ________ Expiry date ____ / ____
Address ________ Signature ________
Telephone ________
Postcode ________

Post to: Guardian Weekly Books, 250 Western Avenue, London W3 6EE, UK
Tel: +44 181 324 5503 Fax: +44 181 324 5678
Cust. care: +44 181 324 5656 e-mail: bid@mail.bogo.co.uk

Airmail postage and packing
Europe Please add 20% of order value
Rest of world Add ☐ 40% of order value (approx. 7-10 days) or ☐ 30% (14-21 days)
☐ Please do not send any further mailings from other carefully selected companies

CultureShop

Feikh shake, sugary crude

A N Wilson

Fayed: The Unauthorised Biography
by Tom Bower.
Macmillan 496pp £18.99

ONE of the most richly enjoyable incidents in this extraordinary story occurs in September 1964. Papa Doc, the Haitian tyrant, has engaged a young but illustrious Kuwaiti sheikh to rebuild the harbour in Port-au-Prince. The sheikh tries to persuade some British oil experts that there is money to be made drilling for oil on Haiti. They ask him to submit a sample of crude for analysis. When the "sheikh", whose name happens to be Mohamed Fayed, receives the results from the laboratory, it is discovered that the "oil" is in fact some low-grade molasses from an abandoned French sugar plantation.

Most con-men who had tried to persuade Shell or BP to drill for treacle would have collapsed in shame. But this is very early days in Fayed's career. He has a long way to go. You more than half sympathise with the feikh shake and his sugary crude. After all, few men can have conned Papa Doc and lived to tell the tale. Three years, and only six pages later, we find Fayed purring down Park Lane in a Rolls Royce. This time, he is a former member of the Egyptian Royal Family "who fled Egypt with the king after Nasser's revolt. We lost most of our possessions. Our land, our fleet of ships, all our possessions were stolen".

What did the truth matter? Sheikh Rashid of Dubai, when he arrived in London, needed a British financial adviser. It was Fayed, in the hired Rolls, who was able to escort a real sheikh to a real bank (Morgan Grenfell no less) and having persuaded the chinless wonder there that he was a bona-fide customer, he was able to put his hands on some very real money indeed. The chinless wonder was the 23-year-old David Douglas-Home, son of the former Prime Minister. Douglas-Home was only the first of many British bankers and politicians who did not trouble themselves to find out, as Tom Bower has done, who Fayed is, what he has been up to since he was born, 69 years ago, the poor son of an Alexandrian schoolteacher.

In the early pages of the story, the reader is constantly impressed by how much odder, and in a way more impressive, the reality of Fayed's life has been than the crudely fantastic lies he spins about it. Pivotal to the whole story is how



Upon a burnished throne . . . Mohamed Fayed, sitting in state

Fayed, without anything like the necessary assets, managed to trick Tiny Rowland out of his life's ambition, to own Harrods, and to persuade the various banks involved that he was a sound man.

No one questioned his credentials too closely, if it suited them. Thatcher more than half believed that she had Fayed to thank for the Sultan of Brunei placing a £5 billion defence order with British firms; even this high-minded newspaper, when it wanted to expose sleaze-merchant Jonathan Aitken, was not above using Fayed of the Ritz as a reliable witness.

In the early part of the tale, the lies are funny. Meet Fayed the Scottish laird who has bought Balnagowan Castle. A neighbouring landowner boasts that he has shot 100 stags that year. "How many head do you shoot a year, Mr Al Fayed?" asked the laird. "Ten thousand," replied Fayed without a blink.

Fayed the sportsman is only matched by Fayed the radical politician, who of course only had the interests of democracy at heart when he planted those used banknotes in the sweaty palms of Tory nobody-backbenchers. After the 1997 election, he announced, "I was proud, because I showed the masses . . . that they were ruled by a bunch of crooks . . . The win by the Labour party and its majority — I have caused maybe 70 per cent or 80 per cent of it".

By the end of the story, though, the machinations and the lies have become so horrible that smiles die. His speech is a stream of obscenities, his treatment of underlings is bullying, cruel and intrusive; his sexual predacity, common knowledge, would have put off many honourable people from being associated with him, even if he were not manifestly paranoid.

Bower has done an unforgettable demolition job. Fayed is almost illiterate so he won't read this book. But it is not conceivable — is it — that he will ever live it down? When we have read each nauseating incident of blackmail, brutality, illegal surveillance and greed, it isn't possible to feel a glimmer of sympathy.

The book fills you with utter contempt, not just for Fayed but for England, and all the greedy unprincipled bankers, newspaper proprietors, and MPs. "There's not a single man I could not buy," Tiny Rowland used to boast. Tom Bower shows that Fayed could almost make this text his own and, for once in his life, not be too far from the truth.

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £16 contact CultureShop (see page 33)

Date with destiny

Adam Begley

Damascus Gate
by Robert Stone
Picador 500pp £16.99

THE silly side of the millennium, all the harmless, vulgar hoopla, lets us forget to be scared. How much sacred significance, heaped on a calendar date, does it take to push religious enthusiasts over the line into religious mania? Mania is just a shout away from violence, especially in Jerusalem, the brilliantly realized setting of Robert Stone's new novel, Damascus Gate. As the millennium itself should serve to remind us, things that happen in the Holy Land echo elsewhere and down through the ages. And so — be scared.

But the real millennial danger isn't Messiah-mad cranks. "We can't blame crazy people for the troubles of the world," a character in Damascus Gate declares. "It's the nominally sane individuals who cause most of human misery." Danger kicks in when the nominally sane check the calendar and decide the time is ripe to manipulate the maniacs.

Or, to put the same idea in the terms of Stone's knotted plot, the flashpoint comes when geopolitics tangles with religion. In Jerusalem in the early 1990s, power and belief intersect and a conspiracy hatches to blow up the Muslim shrines on the Temple Mount. The pious plotters, the "God-struck", are an uneasy alliance of militant Jews and Christian fundamentalists; they imagine their bomb will clear the way for the rebuilding of the Temple and either the coming of the Messiah or the second coming of Christ. The secular plotters, the "patriots", foresee riots and war — an upheaval which will reshape the political map of the Middle East.

Damascus Gate sounds like a thriller, but the plot is too weak to qualify. The conspiracy cranks up slowly, slowly, and loose ends flap dispiritedly through the final pages. (If it's tense Middle East intrigue you're after, Palestinians duelling with Israelis, try Le Carré's The Little Drummer Girl.) Stone's novel should be read as an extended meditation on religious identity, how people and nations choose to be defined by faith (or lack thereof) — or have religious identity thrust upon them.

The confused, questing hero, Christopher Lucas, neither Jewish like his father nor Catholic like his mother, is writing a book about "the Jerusalem Syndrome", a label psychiatrists use to describe individuals who become convinced they are in Jerusalem on a mission, sent by the Almighty. Some believe they are Jesus redux. Adam De Kuff, a manic-depressive fallen under the influence of a hipster junkie, considers himself "the Lamb of God Returned", proclaiming that "the time to come is at hand". He has a theologically sophisticated, ecumenically appealing notion of his Messianic role. Lucas falls in love with one of De Kuff's followers, a beautiful, half-black, half-Jewish Sufi. And De Kuff's cult is linked to the Temple Mount conspiracy, which means Lucas finds himself in great danger.

The novel is thick with allusion, a maze of connections as tortuous as the back alleys of Jerusalem's Old City. Lose track of the fact that Shabak is the nickname for Shin Bet, Israel's internal security agency, and you'll find yourself mystified by the convoluted conspiracy. Know your Gnosticism, or you'll be head-scratching through dense passages of theological speculation. One typically hip snatch of dialogue requires easy familiarity with Theodor Adorno and Charlie Chan. In this novel, no swallow falls, no cock crows without thematic resonance and a scriptural cross-reference. De Kuff preaches that "everything is Torah"; Stone seems bent on proving a corollary truth: everything is ready for exegesis.

ONE suspects that he's just showing off. Even during exhilarating moments of action and suspense (a riot in the Gaza Strip; a brutal interrogation at a Jewish settlement; a roof-top chase in the Old City), he keeps coming with echoes of antiquity, as though one could peel back a thin layer of today and see the cache of yesterdays trailing back to Old Testament times. Here's a palimpsest peek at the intifada: "Two soldiers moved directly in front of the van and raised their weapons to fire gas canisters at the withdrawing mass of young men. Taking aim, they posed like archers in an ancient frieze, squinting up at the declining sun." The calmer, guide-book episodes are priceless: "A dip in the Dead Sea, Lucas discovered, resembled in its chilly, sticky wetness many of life's other mildly unpleasant tropical experiences."

Damascus Gate is not one of Stone's best novels. It can't match Dog Soldiers or A Flag For Sunrise for sheer muscle; it never achieves the lyric dazzle of Outerbridge Reach. But Stone on an off day is still well worth reading, a master half-stumbling between masterpieces.

Third time lucky as McEwan wins Booker

Dan Glaister

IAN McEWAN **last week overcame past disappointments and upset the bookmakers when he was awarded the 30th Booker prize for his satirical novel Amsterdam.**

His victory comes at the expense of Beryl Bainbridge, widely tipped by both critics and bookmakers to win the prize.

Mr McEwan said: "It is pretty tough for shortlisted authors who don't win . . . Last year I was not nominated and I had more headlines not being nominated. Beryl gave me a great hug. I hope I would have given her such a hug, too, had it not been me."

The other shortlisted novels were Bainbridge's Master Georgie; England, England by Julian Barnes; The Industry Of Souls by Martin Booth; Breakfast On Pluto by Patrick McCabe; and The Restraint Of Beasts by Magnus Mills.

Amsterdam was McEwan's third appearance on the shortlist. His previous novel, Enduring Love, was shortlisted for several prizes, which it failed to win.

Amsterdam is the story of two men, a composer and a newspaper editor, who become embroiled in controversy when the lover of both is photographed in compromising positions with the Foreign Secretary. The story kicks off at the funeral of their lover.

The former foreign secretary Lord Hurd, who was the chairman of the judges, evidently did not find the subject too close to the bone. He said : "It's a sardonic book, it's a book about the struggle between two friends who are deeply ambitious, and their ambition leads them into acts which are questionable. It's a satire, but quite a wise one."

But divisions were admitted. "From the first day Penelope Fitzgerald was pushing for the bus driver, Magnus Mills," one of the judges, Valentine Cunningham, said. "All the women liked the bus driver. Fitzgerald didn't like being told it was quite ordinary and evening-class. In the end we split 3-2, with Nigella Lawson and Douglas Hurd holding out for Bainbridge. I would have been happy with either."

The 30th anniversary of the Booker prize has seen a rash of reminiscences. One of the earliest winners, John Berger, pledged half his prize money for his novel G to the Black Panther movement in protest at what he called the Booker company's colonialist policies running sugar plantations in the West Indies. His declaration at the prize-giving dinner led to a heated exchange with Rebecca West.

Since then, the prize has thrived as much on its ability to garner headlines as on the literary merit of the winners. One title that combined both was Midnight's Children by Salman Rushdie, which won the Booker in 1981 and the Booker of Bookers, marking the 25th anniversary of the prize, in 1993. Its selection was criticised by some at the time as "anti-British".

Now some critics suggest publicity has an undue effect on the judges.

"They used to go into the judging very openly," the Booker prize administrator, Martyn Goff, has said. Now, he added, "they are tense from the start".

Golf Volvo Masters

Monty wins sixth title on the trot

David Davies at Montecastillo

DARREN CLARKE won the Volvo Masters last Sunday, Colin Montgomerie topped the Volvo Rankings and Lee Westwood gained the kind of experience he could do without.

Europe's big three, who dominated proceedings at Montecastillo last week, finished in possibly the least predicted fashion of all, with Clarke equalling the course record of 63 on his way to what was, but should not be, a rare win.

Montgomerie, a more prolific winner, finished third but did enough to extend his record run of ranking wins to six on the trot, while Westwood, who has won as many tournaments as the other two combined this year, ran up a quadruple bogey seven at the 14th, and eventually finished tied for 12th.

For Clarke this was an especially sweet moment. As he walked off the final green, cradling his 13-week-old son Tyrone, he could reflect not only that he had played brilliantly and won, but he had also beaten his close friend and stablemate, Westwood, who had appeared to be leaving him behind.

Here, though, Clarke left them all behind, seizing the moment as rarely, if ever, before. He went to the turn in 30, with four birdies and an eagle, and when he found himself at the top of the leaderboard he did not for a second flinch. He came home in 33, for a total of 271, 17-under par, to win by two from Andrew Coltart and by three from Montgomerie.

It was a win that could be the making of the big Ulsterman. To his enormous frustration he has finished runner-up three times this season alone, while Westwood has been roaring away to five wins throughout the world.

Indeed things got so bad for Clarke that he actually withdrew from the Belgacom Open in the first week of October for fear that if he got into contention and then failed to come through again, he would totally lose his head.

Last Sunday he fully earned the accolade passed on by Montgomerie. "That was a world-class effort by Darren," he said. "He's a very, very talented player." Montgomerie was pleased with himself, too. "The standard in Europe is improving all the time," he said, "and I've had to improve with it. That's 11 years in a row as a professional that I feel I've improved. I feel mentally tougher than ever before, and hopefully I've not played my best golf yet.

"I played down my desire to be European No 1 again at the start of the week. Really it was not so much a desire to be in that position as a reluctance to see anyone else in it. Nick Faldo told me that if he'd won it five times he'd want to win it six."

Faldo was something of an isolated figure last week, and last Sunday practised on the range as the others were winning things. His final round 75, for 289, left him tied for 36th.

Clarke won the biggest title, and the most money — the \$275,000 first prize and \$200,000 bonus money for finishing second in the rankings — in his career.

The final rankings showed Montgomerie the winner with \$1,650,000; Clarke next with \$1,500,000 and Westwood third with \$1,350,000.



Cap that . . . Montgomerie after his triumph PHOTO: DESMOND BOYLAN

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Vialli has a field day

CHELSEA'S manager Gianluca Vialli took to the field in the third round of the Worthington Cup and celebrated with a hat-trick to beat Premiership leaders Aston Villa 4-1 at Stamford Bridge.

Villa took the lead through Mark Draper's deflected free-kick, but the holders equalised when Vialli latched onto a Celestine Babayaro pass. He put his side ahead with a superb shot on the turn and completed his hat-trick five minutes from time after Tore Andre Flo had added a third.

The London club face a tough tie in the next round where they meet Double winners Arsenal who, with 10 regulars including prized Dutch pair Dennis Bergkamp and Marc Overmars absent from the side, beat off Derby's challenge 2-1 at Pride Park.

The result justified coach Arsène Wenger's decision to keep his top players fresh for Europe and the Premiership. Arsenal went ahead in the 21st minute when Luis-Boa Morte's corner was turned into his own net by a hapless Lee Carsley. Nelson Vivas settled the issue with his first goal for the club, although Dean Sturridge salvaged some home pride in the 85th minute.

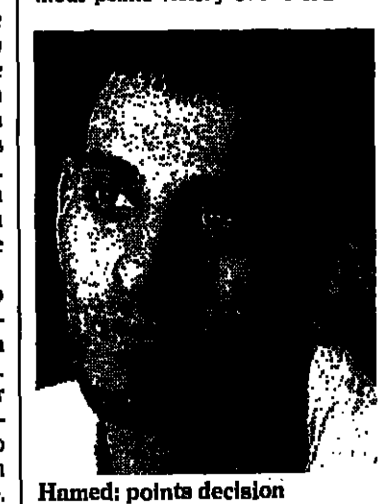
Brave Bury's gallant attempt to thwart Manchester United ultimately failed, but the First Division club held out until the 106th minute. A series of inspired saves by keeper Dean Kiely foiled a largely second-string United, but he was unable to prevent Ole Gunnar Solskjaer from putting his side ahead in extra-time. The match was settled when fellow-Norwegian Erik Nevland scored the second.

United's opponents in the last 16 will be Nottingham Forest, who were given a fright on home ground by Third Division Cambridge United. The visitors staged a marvellous fight-back from 3-0 down to take the tie into extra-time before losing 4-3 on penalties. Another side to win in a penalty shoot-out were Bolton, who put out Norwich.

Elsewhere, Liverpool beat Fulham 3-1, Leicester defeated Charlton 2-1, Luton saw off Coventry 2-0 and Newcastle United beat Tranmere Rovers 1-0. Also through are Tottenham Hotspur, Wimbledon, Blackburn, Leeds and Everton.

In the second semi-final of the Scottish League Cup, St Johnstone beat Hearts 3-0, and will meet Rangers in the end.

NASEEM HAMED retained his World Boxing Organisation featherweight title with a unanimous points victory over Northern Ireland's Wayne McCullough in Atlantic City. The challenger became the first man to go the distance with Hamed, whose performance was far from vintage as he struggled to find the target with any of his vast range of punches. The Sheffield fighter was booed by his American fans, who were not impressed with this showing.



Hamed: points decision

PETER MANDELSON, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, has referred the \$1 billion bid by Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB for Manchester United to the Monopolies & Mergers Commission. The minister said the Office of Fair Trading recommended that the merger should be referred due to competition issues and public interest concerns. The move was bitterly attacked by Murdoch.

SOUTH AFRICAN skipper Hansie Cronje and Jacques Kallis steered their country to a four-wicket victory over West Indies in the final of the Wills International Cup in Dhaka, Bangladesh. South Africa won the toss and bowled out West Indies for 245, Kallis taking 5-30. Cronje's team reached their target with the loss of six wickets.

ENGLAND'S Ashes tour got off to a nail-biting start with a victory over the Australian Board Chairman's XI by one run in Perth. The tourists scored a daunting 297-5 in their 50 overs, with Mike Atherton hitting a breezy 88. Captain Alec Stewart and John Crawley also made aggressive half-centuries. After a confident opening partnership of 87, the home side came close to a sensational victory, but could only get five runs off the final over.

THE New Zealand raider Jezabeel, ridden by Chris Munce, won the A\$2.8 million Melbourne Cup. Second was Champagne, ridden by Glen Boss, and third Persian Punch, ridden by Richard Quinn.

Football Results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP
Chelsea P, Aston Villa P; Derby 2, Leeds 2; Everton 1, Man Utd 4; Leicester 1, Liverpool 0; Middlesbrough 1, Nottm Forest 1; Newcastle 0, West Ham 3; Sheff Wed 0, Southampton 0; Tottenham 2, Charlton 2; Wimbledon 1, Blackburn 1.
Leading positions: 1, A Villa (played 10, points 22); 2, Man Utd (10-21); 3, Arsenal (11-20).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE
First Division
Birmingham 1, Huddersfield 1; Bolton 0, Sunderland 3; Bradford C 5, Bristol C 0; Bury 1, Watford 3; Grimsby 2, C Palace 0; Ipswich 2, West Brom 0; Oxford Utd 1, Crewe 1; Portsmouth P, Norwich P; Port Vale 2, Sheffield Utd 3; Swindon 3, QPR 1; Tranmere 1, Stockport 1; Wolves 1, Barnsley 1.
Leading positions: 1, Sunderland (15-31); 2, Birmingham (17-29); 3, Huddersfield (17-28).

Second Division
Blackpool 2, Fulham 3; Bournemouth P, Preston P; Bristol R 3, Walsall 4; Burnley 2, Wrexham 1; Lincoln 1, Gillingham 2; Luton P, Chesterfield P; Macclesfield 0, Northampton 1; Man C 2, Colchester 1; Millwall 1, Oldham 1; Notts Co 1, Stoke 0; Wigan 5, York 0; Wycombe 2, Reading 3.
Leading positions: 1, Stoke (16-31); 2, Fulham (14-30); 3, Preston (15-29).

Third Division
Barnet 0, Rochdale 1; Brentford P, Carlisle P; Brighton 3, Hartlepool 2; Cardiff 1, Exeter 0; Chester 1, Shrewsbury 1; Halifax 2, Swansea 0; L Orient 1, Scunthorpe 0; Mansfield 1, Cambridge 3; Peterborough 2, Rotherham 4; Plymouth 0, Hull 0; Scarborough 1, Torquay 1; Southend 2, Darlington 1.
Leading positions: 1, Rotherham (16-27); 2, Scunthorpe (16-27); 3, Brentford (13-27).

SCOTTISH PREMIER LEAGUE
Dundee 1, Hearts 0; Dunfermline 1, St Johnstone 1; Kilmarnock 2, Celtic 0; Motherwell 2, Aberdeen 2; Rangers 2, Dundee Utd 1.
Leading positions: 1, Rangers (12-24); 2, Kilmarnock (12-23); 3, Celtic (12-17).

SCOTTISH LEAGUE
Division One
Airdrie 3, Stranraer 2; Falkirk 1, St Mirren 1; Gr Morton 2, Raith 0; Hamilton 1, Ayr 3; Hibernian 2, Clydebank 1.
Leading positions: 1, Hibernian (13-26); 2, Ayr (13-23); 3, Airdrie (12-23).

Division Two
Alloa 3, Partick 1; Arbroath 0, Inverness CT 1; Clyde 3, Forfar 1; East Fife 2, Livingston 3; Queen Sth 2, Stirling 3.
Leading positions: 1, Livingston (13-30); 2, Inverness CT (13-29); 3, Clyde (13-22).

Division Three
Albion 4, Montrose 1; Brechin 2, Cowdenbeath 1; Dumbarton 2, East Stirling 2; Ross Co 3, Berwick 1; Stenhousemuir 2, Queen's Park 1.
Leading positions: 1, Ross Co (13-27); 2, Brechin (13-27); 3, Stenhousemuir (13-26).

Football Premiership

No victory on Poll day

Harry Pearson at St James' Park

THE Governor of the Bank of England, Eddie George, recently made himself highly unpopular in the Northeast by remarking that unemployment in the region was good for the national economy. At St James' Park, Graham Poll made a determined, largely successful bid to usurp the boy George as most hated man on Tyneside.

The referee from Tring had already worked the home fans into a lather in a lively opening half by waving aside two penalty appeals and disallowing Alan Shearer's headed effort when, three minutes into the second period, he sent off Stuart Pearce after the thunder-thighed left-back apparently made an over-zealous attempt to buff up the back of Trevor Sinclair's gleaming skull, using his right elbow.

Poll's decisions cast a shadow over an otherwise bright game which West Ham United won 3-0. The match contained notable performances from two Hammers at different ends of their careers. Frank Lampard Jr's name alone would mark him out as claret-and-blue royalty, but his abilities are princely too. The England Under-21 captain always appears composed to the point of serenity. Like a swan, Lampard seems to be able to hold head and torso still, no matter how fast his legs are pumping.

Lampard probed away at Newcastle's defence as precisely as a dentist searching for cavities. The main beneficiary was the 35-year-old Ian Wright. The veteran forward's youthfulness is beginning to take on a slightly eerie Cliff Richard quality. He darted, swivelled and bounced hyperactively on the balls of his feet. The sharpness of his finishing must be even more enervating for defenders. Eight minutes after Pearce saw red, Wright, just inside the Newcastle half, sprinted 20 yards before smacking a low right-foot shot home. It looked so simple you could be forgiven wondering why no one had thought to do it earlier.

The home side had the better of a first half in which Paul Dalglish's direct running with the ball had at times made even the languid Rio Ferdinand look flustered, but they suffered from a lack of imagination in the middle. Gary Speed and David Batty are honest and hard-working but predictable. With Stephen Glass looking fragile, much was left to Nolberto Solano, who sprays the ball around with the outside of his feet in a manner not seen here since Chris Waddle shuffled southwards. The Peruvian came closest to levelling with a long-range lob.

But soon Sinclair snuffed out all hope when he added a second after an exchange with Newcastle old boy Paul Kitson.

"Two-nil to the referee," the Toon Army sang bitterly as they began to file away. Moments later, Wright notched No 3. Eddie George plans to visit Newcastle soon. He might bring Mr Poll along to draw some of the flak.

